# THE GREEN MOVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST QUEENSLAND: THE ENVIRONMENT, INSTITUTIONAL FAILURE, AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

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**A dissertation submitted to the Department of Government, University of Queensland, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.**

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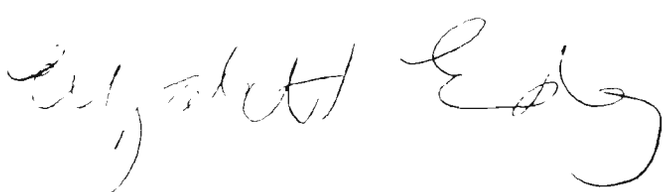
## DECLARATION

I declare that the material presented in this dissertation is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original, except as acknowledged in the text, and that the material has not been submitted previously, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.



Elizabeth Eddy

# ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the green movement in southeast Queensland from the late 1960s to the present. Over this period, the region of southeast Queensland experienced substantial social, demographic and political change. The Queensland and local governments were subjected to pressures from the community to address the social, economic, and environmental repercussions of urbanisation resulting from rapid population growth. The green movement contributed to rising dissent through expressing a range of environmental and social objectives. Throughout the 1980s, 'sustainability' emerged as a common theme across the otherwise diverse green movement to express its concerns. This thesis addresses this preoccupation, and shows that it signalled related perceptions of the causal link between prevailing social and environmental problems.

Several interpretations of the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes are identified in this thesis, with respect to the conservation, alternative community, and political green movements. These 'movements' were analytically distinct parts of the green movement in southeast Queensland. In each instance, the movements considered that institutional change was a fundamental requirement for resolving the causally linked social and environmental problems. The conservation movement advocated institutional reform of the political system, the political green movement promoted transformation of political and social institutions, and the alternative community engaged in the praxis of alternative institutions. These endeavours to realise institutional change to reconcile social and environmental objectives are referred to as 'environmental projects'.

This thesis also addresses the repercussions for the green movement of the changed institutional context arising from government reforms during the late 1980s. These reforms were initiated by state and local governments, and had controversial social, economic, and environmental consequences. The thesis shows that the endeavours by the green movement to turn these reforms to their advantage were met with only limited success. The problems they experienced provided the incentive for concerted attempts to consolidate the green movement within the region, and on a national scale. Green movement re-organisation in

southeast Queensland primarily involved increased cooperation around electoral strategies, in spite of the different and often conflicting environmental projects. The thesis examines these attempts at cooperation, with specific emphasis on the national context which was assuming more relevance by the late 1980s. One major consequence was the formation of a national green electoral party with branches in several states including Queensland.

This thesis offers an account of environmental conflict in Australia that is different from other accounts in two ways. The first is the focus on the green movement in (southeast) Queensland, which to date has received little attention. Secondly, this thesis had adopted a movement-centred approach that is derived from the 'new social movement' scholarship, in which the movement is the central object of analysis. This differs from the more usual pressure groups approaches which have dominated the green movement literature. Furthermore, while this thesis has a specific regional focus, the issues that are raised are linked to national and international developments. This suggests that the environmental conflict in southeast Queensland also has relevance for broader national and international issues.

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to many people for their encouragement and assistance while I was writing my PhD dissertation. The academic and administrative staff at the Department of Government were consistently helpful in providing invaluable resources and information. In particular I would like to thank April Carter, who supervised my project from 1991. She read my drafts many times over, always offering constructive feedback. I also very much valued Linda Buckham's personal support and encouragement.

Many thanks also to friends who listened with patience to far more about my thesis, and how I felt about it, than they ever really wanted to hear. I would particularly like to mention Fiona Laing, Barry Stark, and Liz van Acker for their patience and encouragement. Over the final drafting of the thesis, Stephen Walker offered encouragement and enthusiasm. Thank you also to Helen Foley who, twice, proof-read the entire manuscript and made invaluable editorial suggestions. Terry Blyth also provided valuable assistance. I am grateful to Drew Hutton for his encouragement, and for his tireless efforts in the green movement. I also want to thank my parents and brothers and sister, for their support. My beautiful cat, Samsara, kindly kept me company during those long hours in front of the word-processor.

This thesis is dedicated to movement activists around Australia, whose valuable efforts are often not recorded.

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# Chapter One

# THE GREEN MOVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST QUEENSLAND: the environment, institutional failure, and social conflict

## OVERVIEW

The focus of this thesis is the green movement in southeast Queensland. The southeast corner of Queensland is the most highly urbanised region of the state. Since the late 1960s to the present, this region experienced substantial social, demographic and political change, largely associated with massive population growth. By the 1980s, the Brisbane-Gold Coast and Brisbane Sunshine Coast corridors, and eastern Brisbane, were amongst the ten fastest growing regions in Australia in the 1980s.[1] The Queensland and local governments were subjected to pressures from the community to address the social, economic, and environmental repercussions of urbanisation resulting from this growth.[2] In addition, over this period, Queensland politics was largely characterised by demands from the community for state and local government reforms to address accountability issues associated with the policies of the Queensland National Party Government. The in-coming Queensland Labor Party Government in 1989 instigated a series of social, environmental, administrative and electoral reforms which proved controversial.[3] The rise of the green movement in southeast Queensland corresponded with the increase of community dissent in this region, over a range

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[1] Population Issues Committee. *Population Issues and Australia's Future*. Australian Government Publishing Service. Canberra. 1992. p.9.

[2] The reforms established by the Brisbane City Council included plans for a regional economic development strategy for southeast Queensland - Jan Caulfield. "Planning policy options for Brisbane's growth". *Power and Policy in Brisbane Conference*, Centre for Public Sector Management, Griffith University. 30-31 October 1992. In addition, Boreham et al raise a series of social and economic issues for Queensland as a whole over this period, which had repercussion for the region of southeast Queensland - Paul Boreham, Geoff Dow, Craig Littler and Randal Stewart. *Society and Economy in Queensland. The Strategic Role of the Public Sector.* Labour and Industry Research Unity. Brisbane. 1988.

[3] Stevens and Wanna address the reform process initiated by the Goss Labor Government, including local government reform in this region - Bron Stevens and John Wanna. eds. *The Goss Government.* Centre for Australian Public Sector Management. Macmillan. 1993.

of social, economic, and environmental issues.

The presence of the green movement in this region was expressed in a number of ways. For instance, since the early 1970s there were continuing protests against the destruction of natural environments in regional and urban areas. In relation to these protests, conservation groups argued for changes in local and state government development and environmental policy. Meanwhile, many urban dwellers had moved into rural areas, particularly into the Sunshine Coast hinterland region, in search of a more personally fulfilling and 'natural' lifestyle. Work, land, and investment co-operatives aiming to satisfy social and environmental ethical criteria were established to service these lifestyle changes. In addition, from the early 1980s various green electoral candidates contested local, state, and federal elections. Criticism about urban policy from the green movement focused on issues such as traffic, foreshore destruction, and hazardous waste disposal. State and federal election issues raised by the green movement included criticism of the government's environmental, economic and social policy.

These expressions of the green movement in southeast Queensland appeared to have little in common beyond some concern with the natural environment. However, since the early 1980s, the theme of sustainability emerged from the green movement in relation to these otherwise quite diverse activities and concerns. For instance, since the late 1970s, conservation organisations proposed that ecologically sustainable development should replace current economic development practices. In the early 1980s, a Brisbane local government election campaign organised by the Brisbane Green Party proposed that Brisbane should become a 'sustainable city', to address its humanist and ecological concerns. An organisation formed to promote the interests of those seeking alternative lifestyles aimed to achieve 'sustainable lifestyles'. Moreover, the sustainability theme was not confined to the green movement in southeast Queensland. In other parts of Australia, and internationally, a broader green movement also expressed this theme. This focus on sustainability, clearly linked to environmental objectives, signalled some common ground across the diversity of the green movement in southeast Queensland and beyond.

The central aim of this thesis is to determine the common ground with respect to the

southeast Queensland green movement's apparent preoccupation with sustainability, with reference to interpretations of environmental problems in a national and international context. It does so from a movement-centred approach, derived from the new social movement literature. This literature proposes that movements may play an indirect role in social change, by producing "a tension which is a constant irritant, a source of conflict and innovation",[4] or "asking questions which are not allowed."[5] The basis for this potentially innovative role for movements is, thus, the recognition of the institutional limits of the social order for achieving specified outcomes.[6] This literature also suggests that movements interpret, or mediate the perception of, objective circumstances through collective social processes. In this sense, movements *produce* concerns and issues, albeit in relation to objective circumstances.[7] Thus, movements may produce and promote new social practices and perspectives which are not readily accommodated by the dominant institutions of society.

This movement-centred approach places the focus of this thesis on the green movement itself, within a specific historical context, to explain the significance of the sustainability theme *to the participants*. This emphasis is important, as movements are viewed as innovators that are critical of the social order. The movement-centred approach also facilitates the identification of the differing expressions of the sustainability theme by the green movement in southeast Queensland. These expressions are shown to correspond to three analytically distinct strands of the green movement, which constitute *movements within movements*: the conservation, alternative community, and political green movements. The boundaries of these movements were not distinct. For instance, there was some cross membership between these movements, and continuities with state, national and international expressions of these movements. The identification of these three movements acknowledges both the commonality *and* diversity within the green movement in southeast Queensland.

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[4] Jan Pakulski. *Social Movements. The Politics of Moral Protest*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1991. p.83.

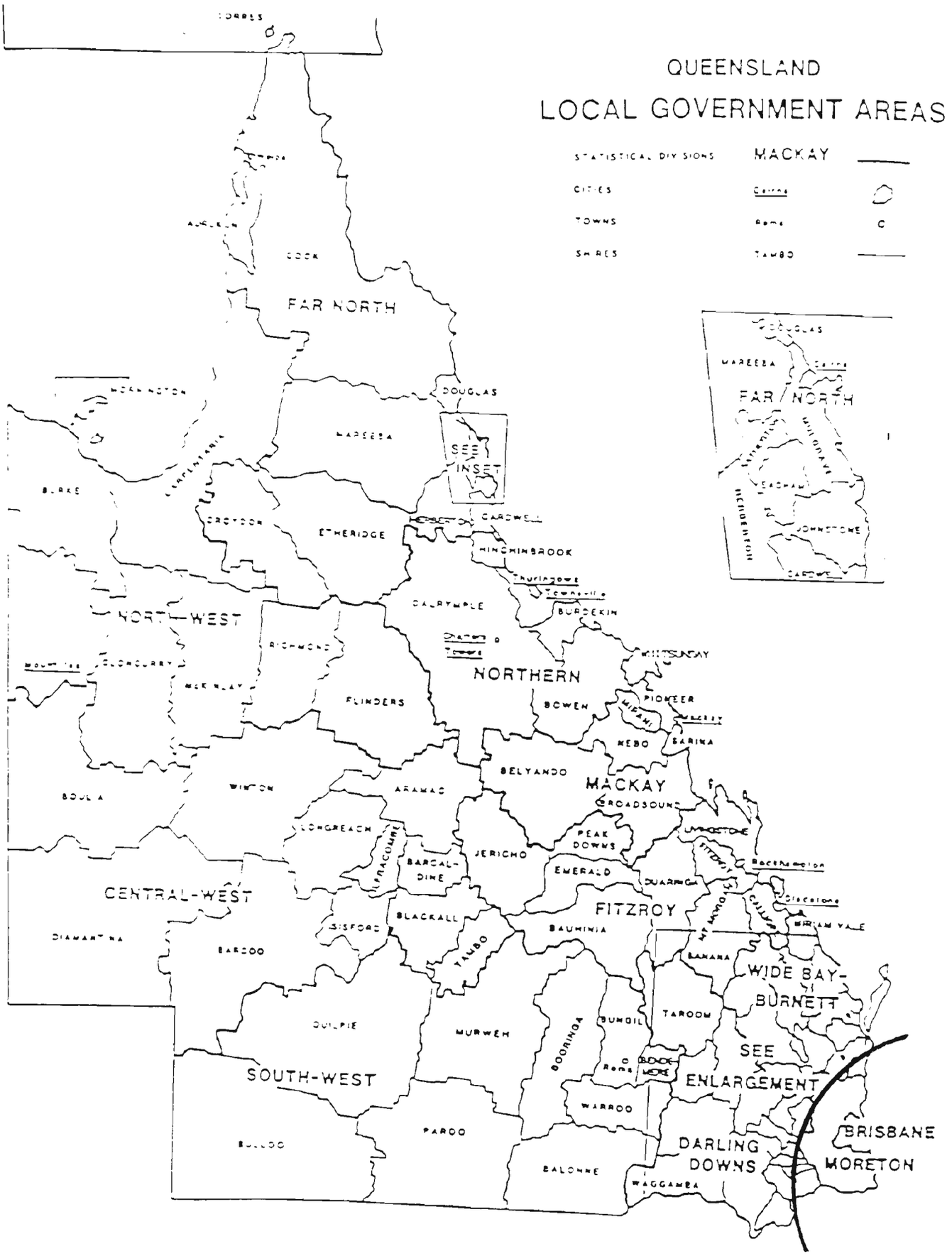
[5] Alberto Melucci. "The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements." *Social Research*. Winter. 1985. p.810.

[6] That is, outcomes specified by movements in the context in which they act.

[7] For instance, see Melucci. "The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements." 1985.

With reference to the preoccupation with sustainability, this thesis establishes the common basis for these movements as a concern with *the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes*. That is, these movements within the green movement each expressed a problem definition about the causal relationship between social and environmental issues. In each instance, the perception of institutional failure characterised the problem definitions. Furthermore, the problem definition was conceptually linked with the resolution of the problem through some form of institutional change. The movement-centred approach used in this thesis proposes that these problem definitions and solutions were formed through social processes within specific historical contexts, and are referred to as *environmental projects*. This thesis therefore aims to identify the environmental projects formed by the green movement in southeast Queensland, to explain their significance in the rapidly changing context of southeast Queensland.

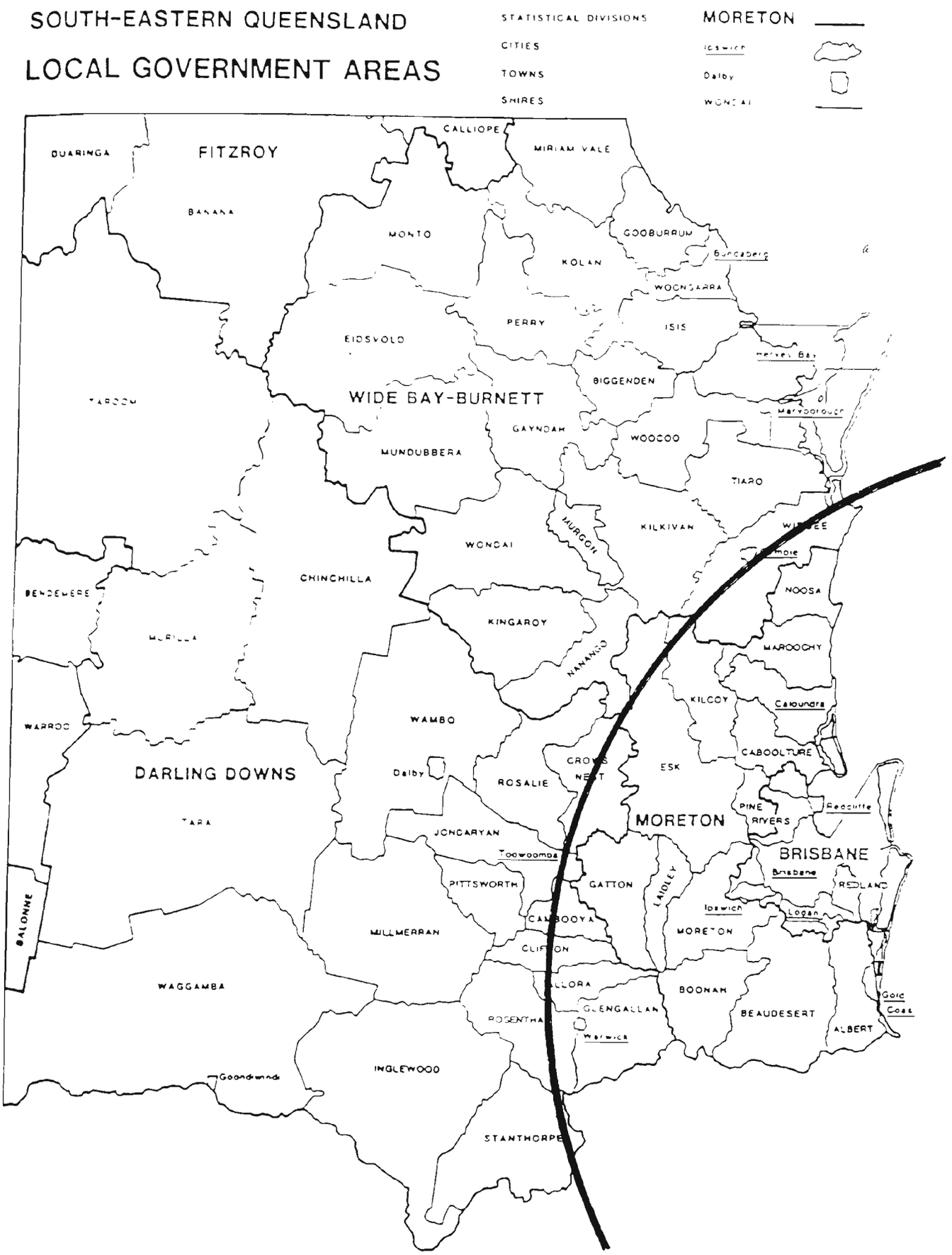
The region of south-east Queensland can be identified with respect to political-administrative boundaries. However, the green movement like other movements did not as a whole reflect the political administrative boundaries, although specific organisations and campaigns may have. For instance, the local and regional groups within the conservation movement were organised on a state-wide and federal basis. However, the political green movement drew its inspiration largely from the West German Greens, and cultivated contact with the international green movement. Thus, identifying the green movement in relation to a region such as southeast Queensland reflects the focus of attention, rather than a phenomenon contained within the specified region. In this case, however, the region of southeast Queensland had some defining features in relation to the rapidly changing social, demographic and political characteristics referred to above. Therefore, the region of southeast Queensland referred to the more densely populated coastal and hinterland regions, extending from the New South Wales border to the northern reaches of the Sunshine Coast. This region roughly corresponds to the several local government authorities which have been subjected to the substantial social, demographic and political change, largely associated with massive population growth, which was noted above (see diagrams 1 and 2).




**This map of Queensland indicates the region focused upon in this thesis, in relation to the rest of the state. Southeast Queensland is the area under the curve in the bottom right-hand corner. (see diagram 2 for more detail).**

Map reprinted from Electoral and Administrative Review Commission. *Electoral and Administrative Review Commission. Issues Paper no.2. Local Authority Electoral Review.* Brisbane. April.1990. p.22.

**diagram 1**




**The region inside the curve indicates the region referred to in this thesis as southeast Queensland.**

Map reprinted from Electoral and Administrative Review Commission. *Electoral and Administrative Review Commission. Issues Paper no.2. Local Authority Electoral Review.* Brisbane. April.1990. p.23. The line identifying the border of the region addressed in this thesis was an addition of the researcher.

**diagram 2**

This thesis offers a distinctive approach to the green movement, in which it is viewed as an actor capable of formulating issues and concerns outside a state-directed approach to social change. The movement-centred approach allows for a more comprehensive appreciation of the significance of the environmental conflict than pressure group theory could provide.[8] This thesis has, however, some significant similarities with Papadakis. Both Papadakis and this thesis highlight the significance of the green movement in a context of institutional change for dealing with the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes. In both instances, the emphasis upon the green movement is based on theories about the role of movements in social change outside pressure group approaches. However, they have different focuses that contributes to qualitatively different but nonetheless complementary, approaches.

Papadakis's principal interest is in identifying and accounting for the "new forces on the political stage" in relation to the "challenge of environmentalism".[9] Thus he examines how the environmental challenge being addressed by the environmental movement, governments, interests from the private sector, and unions, has been translated into the "reshaping of the political regime".[10] This thesis however, does not set out to deal with the social and institutional changes which Papadakis addresses. It remains centrally concerned with the specific formulations of the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes to emerge from the green movement in southeast Queensland, and the terms upon which their environmental projects have been realised.

The focus on southeast Queensland notwithstanding, this thesis has some general applicability for the national green movement. For instance, it necessarily looks to a national and international context to explicate the significance of the environmental projects in southeast Queensland. Accordingly, this thesis has relevance beyond the regional focus, and in relation to responses to the environmental degradation of recent decades which has altered the frame of reference for considering the relationship between nature and society.

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[8] These issues are discussed in Chapter Two: Limits of Pressure Group Theory for Studies of Movements.

[9] Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. pp.1-2.

[10] See Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. Chapter Six.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This section outlines the method of research for this thesis. It first examines the relevance of previous research on the green movement in Australia for this thesis, and the reliance on documentation produced by the green movement. This section also outlines methodological issues with respect to the handling of documentary sources. Finally, this section addresses the research outline for this thesis, linking the theoretical framework of this thesis with the chapter structure.

### previous research and documentary sources

Scholarship on the Australian green movement has proliferated in the last decade. However its usefulness for this study of the green movement in southeast Queensland is limited on two grounds. Firstly, this scholarship has emerged largely in response to controversy about the environmental reforms and recent federal and state government election strategies. Accordingly, it is largely concerned with analysing the impact of the green movement on the political system, within the framework of pressure group theory. For instance, the collection of essays in Bean, McAllister and Warhurst is concerned with the impact of the green movement upon public policy and electoral outcomes.[11] The essays in Marsh are broader in content but ultimately have the same concerns.[12] This research focus largely accounts for the prominence afforded the conservation movement in green movement scholarship, often at the expense of the other less conventional aspects like those noted above.

Some recent scholarship does, however, acknowledge a more diverse green movement. However, the specific purposes of this scholarship does not really address the above problem. For instance, Beder draws a distinction between the "light-green" part of the green movement and the "deep-green", in terms of those who subscribe to the "dominant social paradigm" and

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[11] Clive Bean, Ian McAllister and John Warhurst. eds. *The Greening of Australian Politics. The 1990 Federal Election*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1990.

[12] Ian Marsh. ed. *The Environmental Challenge*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1991.

those who advocate fundamental social change, respectively.[13] However, ultimately her central purpose is to analyse public policy, and so does not move beyond a description of these categories. Papadakis also acknowledges the substantial diversity of the green movement, and notes the competing interpretations of the problem of "environmentalism".[14] However, he does so with respect to the federal context, and still largely focuses on implications and repercussions for the political system (see above).

Secondly, scant attention has been given to the green movement in Queensland. The few empirical studies of the Queensland green movement tend to focus exclusively on the conservation movement. As an analyst of environmental policy in Queensland and government sustainable development policy, Hunt highlights the significance of the conservation movement in debates about ecological sustainability.[15] Van Acker and Eddy analyse the influence conservation movement strategies had on public policy about Moreton island.[16] Doyle, however, offers the most comprehensive account to date of the green movement in Queensland.[17] His research provides both a Queensland focus and a recognition of the diversity of the green movement.

Doyle's scholarship is ostensibly focused on the conservation movement. He proposes a "structure" for the conservation movement based upon the networks and organisational linkages he has identified. On this basis he defines the conservation very broadly, as more

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[13] Beder. *The Nature of Sustainable Development*. Scribe Publications. Newham, Australia. 1993. pp.279-287.

[14] Elim Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment: the Australian Experience*. Allen and Unwin. St. Leonards, NSW. 1993.

[15] Colin Hunt. "Goss IS greener - but to Queensland Labor - growth is still more important than ecologically sustainable development." *Social Alternatives*. vol.11. no.2. 1992. pp.35-38, Colin Hunt. "The sustainable development debate revisited." *Current Affairs Bulletin*. vol.70. no.10. 1993. pp.4-11, and Colin Hunt. "The management of coastal resources. A job for the Commonwealth?" *Current Affairs Bulletin*. vol.69. no.10. 1993. pp.18-25.

[16] Elizabeth van Acker and Elizabeth Eddy. "The Moreton Island sand mining conflict: 1974-1990." Ken J. Walker. ed. *Australian Environmental Policy*. NSW University Press. Kensington, NSW. 1992.

[17] T.J. Doyle. *The Queensland Conservation Council. A Case-Study of Formalised, Inter-Organisational Relationships in the Queensland Conservation Movement*. AES Working Paper 1/86, School of Environmental Studies, Griffith University. 1986, T.J. Doyle. "The 'structure' of the conservation movement in Queensland." *Social Alternatives*. vol.5. no.2. 1986. pp.27-32, and T.J. Doyle. "The myth of the common goal: the conservation movement in Queensland." *Social Alternatives*. vol.6. no.4. 1987. pp.33-36.

than just the nature conservation pressure groups. Furthermore, he proposes that there is no ideological common ground in the 'conservation' movement. This thesis has a different approach, firstly by focusing upon the *green* movement of which the conservation movement is only a part.[18] Secondly, this thesis proposes there is a common ground with respect to a shared interest in the causal relationship between social and environmental outcomes, which is expressed through the otherwise quite distinct environmental projects.[19] Nonetheless, Doyle's research does provide some useful historical background for this thesis.

Some other research has also proven helpful for establishing the historical background of parts of the green movement generally throughout Australia, and also has some relevance for the movement in southeast Queensland. However, much of it was published prior to the early 1980s which limits it usefulness. For instance, there have been some studies which address what this thesis refers to as the counter-culture and alternative community movement. None of these focus exclusively or even largely upon Queensland. Nonetheless, they provide some background material that is directly useful for this thesis, particularly studies by Cock,[20] Metcalf,[21] Metcalf and Vanclay[22], and Munro-Clarke.[23] In other instances, a degree of

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[18] Doyle identifies a range of movement phenomena as parts of the conservation movement. This conception of the conservation movement supports his claim that there is no common ground - see Doyle. "The 'structure' of the conservation movement in Queensland." 1986. pp.27-32 and Doyle. "The myth of the common goal." 1987. pp.33-36. This study, however, is concerned with the green movement, of which the conservation movement is considered only one part. Some of the movement phenomena which according to Doyle are part of the conservation movement have, in this thesis, been identified as part of the broader green movement or of other movements such as the peace movement.

[19] While Doyle's approach tends to obscure the identification of common ground in what he refers to as the conservation movement, the conception of the green movement presented in this thesis contributes to its identification.

[20] Peter Cock. *Alternative Australia. Communities for the Future?* Quartet Books. Melbourne. 1979 and Peter Cock. "Sustaining the alternative culture? The drift towards rural suburbia." *Social Alternatives*. vol.4. no.4. 1985. pp.12-16.

[21] William Metcalf. *Dropping Out and Staying In.* PhD. Thesis submitted August 1986. School of Australian Environmental Studies, Griffith University. 1986 and William Metcalf. "Anarchy and bureaucracy within the alternative lifestyle movement: or Weber vs. Kropotkin at Nimbin." *Social Alternatives*. vol.6. no.4. 1987. pp.47-51.

[22] William Metcalf and F.M. Vanclay. *Government Assistance to Alternative Lifestyles: Participant Opinion and Professional Recommendation*. AES Working Paper 3/84. July 1984. School of Australian Environmental Studies. Griffith University [a consultancy contract with Office of Youth Affairs, Department of Education and Youth Affairs, Canberra. 1984, and William Metcalf. and F.M. Vanclay. *Participation in Alternative Lifestyles in Australia*. AES Working Paper 2/84. July 1984. School of Australian Environmental Studies. Griffith University. 1984.

reinterpretation has been required, particularly with respect to ecological issues. These instances have been noted where relevant in the chapters.

One aim of this thesis is to address the virtual lack of research on the activities of the green movement in southeast Queensland. Another aim is to examine the green movement from outside the pressure group approach which has dominated the green movement literature thus far. Addressing these two aims in the light of the limits of green movement literature accounts for the prominence of primary source material for this thesis. Documentation provided the major source of primary material, consisting mainly of material produced by the green and other movements. This documentation is interpreted according to a documentary analysis method.

Documentary analysis has several advantages for this thesis. One advantage is that the available documentation satisfactorily covers the entire three decade time-frame of the thesis. A second advantage is that documentary analysis is helpful for another for elucidating the meanings that movement participants attribute to their activities. An interviewing method may initially seem a more direct way to access the point of view of movement participants. However, documentary analysis was selected over an interviewing method for two reasons. An interviewing approach would place an unacceptable degree of reliance upon participants' memories over a long span of time. Moreover, like documentation, interviews would also necessarily be subject to interpretation. Interviews in general have an advantage over documentary analysis in that they are more likely to reveal the meanings behind the culture or language of the movement participants. However, interviews were not necessary for addressing this issue, as the researcher's decade of previous experience as a participant in the green movement in southeast Queensland ensured sufficient familiarity with these aspects of the movement (see below).

Through the interpretation of this documentation, this thesis thus contributes to the literature of the green movement in Queensland and Australia more broadly. It also contributes to an approach to movement analysis which privileges the role of the movement as an actor. See

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[23] Margaret Munro-Clarke. ed. *Communes in Rural Australia. The Movement Since 1970*. Hale and Ironmonger. Sydney. 1984.

Chapter Two: Movements and Social Action for a full explanation of this issue.

**handling documentary sources**

Documentation appropriate for this thesis was fairly readily available, although scattered throughout several public collections and private archives. The interpretation of the documentation is a far more important consideration, for assessing its relevance and meaning. Scott defines documentary sources as "physically embodied texts, where the containment of the text is the primary purpose of the physical medium."[24] His guidelines for textual analysis of documents involve the four principles of *authenticity*, *credibility*, *representativeness* and *meaning*. He notes that the same principles of textual analysis may still apply to material on the borderline of this documentation classification, referring to ephemera such as advertisements, handbills, and invoices. The diverse range of movement material which primarily constitutes the sources for this thesis includes leaflets, advertisements and participants' commentaries in the form of letters and articles, in addition to the more substantial documentation of minutes of meetings, policy papers, and newsletters. This material conforms with Scott's definition of documentation, and his four principles have guided its assessment.

With regard to *authenticity*, Scott raises issues about copies versus originals in relation to the potential for "corrupted" copies. He favours "an original or technically sound copy" which can be authenticated with reference to internal and external evidence. Scott also discusses problems of dating and authorship.[25] Most of the material for this thesis was gathered directly from the organisations' archives. Copies of documentation were selected and made directly by the author. Authorship and dating were verified largely through cross-checking with other material, including newsletters which were a most valuable source of information.

Scott raises concerns about *credibility*. Credibility refers to the extent to which the author of

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[24] John Scott. *A Matter of Record. Documentary Sources in Social Research*. Policy Press. Cambridge. 1991. pp.12-13.

[25] Scott. *A Matter of Record*. 1991. p.20-21

the document is "sincere in the choice of a point of view and in the attempt to record an accurate account from that chosen standpoint".[26] He adds that the material need not be credible to be useful: the material may offer insights about the perceptions and attitudes of the author, and those who share that perception. Nonetheless, he claims that the researcher needs to be aware of the extent of credibility that can be attributed to the document. According to Scott, to ascertain the extent of sincerity, the researcher must consider the circumstances in which the author produced the text. He suggests that material interests may distort the contents. For instance, political interests may contribute to official documents serving as a vehicle to promote a view under the guise of a neutral report. The pecuniary interest behind the sale of newspapers may influence how, or if, a story is reported. He also suggests that authors may have personal reasons for distortions, such as enhancing their own standing, promoting cherished beliefs, or holding an unduly reverential attitude to prevailing morality. Furthermore, he proposes that the researcher should be sensitive to the possibility of distortions arising from factors such as inaccurate recording of events through, for instance, poor recording practices, mis-observation, illusions, negligence or indifference.

This issue of credibility is important for the movement documentation used in this thesis. Alertness to distortions arising from "cherished beliefs" has been singled out as a significant priority for this thesis. In addition, as Melucci notes, movements may promote themselves in a manner intended to foster solidarity within the movement or to gain support from outside it by appearing to be more coherent and successful.[27] For this thesis, the alignment-seeking strategies of parts of the green movement suggest that this issue should be considered when assessing the credibility of the documentation. In addition, except in the cases of formal organisations, the movement material was often produced by volunteers, whose minutes and reports were not necessarily vetted by others for accuracy or viewpoint. Moreover, in many instances the material was intended as personal statements rather than reports on behalf of

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[26] Scott. *A Matter of Record*. 1991. p.22

[27] Melucci raises these issues in relation to the ideologies of movements. He notes that the diverse interests and demands found within movements must be 'mediated and unified' in the interests of organisational unity and that a widened base of consensus must be generated to involve more groups in the movement, and to 'improve their position vis-a-vis the actor, in the eyes of the public' - see Alberto Melucci. "Challenging Codes: Framing and Ambivalence in the Ideology of Social Movements." *Thesis Eleven*. no.31. 1992. pp.135-36.

others. At times the boundaries between these two were blurred. Assessing credibility was, thus, an important consideration when interpreting this material. Credibility of government and business documents were also considered in the light of issues raised by Scott.

The third principle concerns the *representativeness* of the documentation in relation to the totality. Some material may not have survived, having been lost, destroyed, weeded out, or misfiled. Some material may be unavailable: public and private documents may be withheld for reasons such as their sensitive content, while public files may be sealed for extended periods of time. According to Scott, the researcher needs to have some sense of the totality of the material in order to assess the representativeness of the available documentation. Scott states that awareness of the *extent* of representativeness is crucial for the interpretation of the material.[28]

Most of the material was located by the researcher in publicly accessible collections and private archives. The larger conservation organisations maintain extensive archives of their own material, properly catalogued and available for public access. This material includes quite comprehensive collections of campaign materials, organisation documents, newsletters and conference proceedings, associated submissions and government and business documents. It is possible, however, that sensitive material might have been withheld. In the case of the less formal movements and organisations, there is less chance of material being deliberately withheld as there is rarely a sufficiently organised system of storing them to render this possible. However the casualness of some archives does raise considerations about the representativeness.

Various environmental centres and other organisations also hold material other than their own. These collections fairly comprehensively cover a range of organisations and campaigns. For instance, Global Learning Centre (formerly Queensland Development Education Centre), the WEB Enterprise Centre, and Queensland Conservation Council and other environment centres (Sunshine Coast) endeavoured to collect this kind of resources for public use. The Fryer Library at the University of Queensland, and Oxley Library at the State library,

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[28] Scott. *A Matter of Record*. 1991. pp.24-28.

contained some useful source material. There were also some private archives. In many instances there were reasons to be concerned about representativeness. However, movement newsletters often provide a baseline of continuity. Some secondary sources have also been useful for continuity, particularly those mentioned above for the alternative community movement.

Lastly, there is the principle of *meaning*, referring to the "literal and interpretative understanding" in which meaning and significance of the documents is sought by the researcher. One aspect is interpretative understanding, which:

> requires an understanding of the particular definitions and recording practices adopted and of the genre and stylisation employed in the text.[29]

For instance, allusions and terminology must be understood. According to Pakulski and Melucci, movements generate their own counter-cultures. Pakulski refers to this development as formation of the "symbolic-iconic sphere".[30] Another aspect of meaning, according to Scott, is the necessity for appreciating the "selective point of view from which the account or report is constructed".[31] The researcher, thus, must find out as much as possible about the circumstances in which the text was written. Furthermore, Scott proposes that documentation must be considered a "socially situated product".[32] Accordingly:

> the interpretation of a text cannot be separated from the questions of its production and effects. The reading of a text is validated by relating it to the intentions of the author, and by taking into account of the fact that its 'objective meaning' goes beyond these intentions, and also by relating the text to its audience.[33]

Accordingly, a range of secondary sources were used to establish the historical background for the documentation used in the thesis. Furthermore, the theoretical framework adopted for the thesis, the movement-centred approach, has also provided a frame of reference for reading the meaning of the documents. This frame of reference is linked to the

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[29] Scott. *A Matter of Record*. 1991. p.30.

[30] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.78-79.

[31] Scott. *A Matter of Record*. 1991. p.31.

[32] Scott. *A Matter of Record*. 1991. p.34.

[33] Scott. *A Matter of Record*. 1991. p.35.

conceptualisation of movements in this thesis, as a complex social phenomenon which nonetheless is an actor. This is discussed in Chapter Two.

The previous involvement of the researcher in the green movement in southeast Queensland raises issues of objectivity, with subsequent repercussions for interpretation of the documentation.[34] There are potential advantages and disadvantages arising from the researcher's involvement, with respect to the four principles of documentary analysis. Assessing authenticity and credibility was enhanced by the involvement of the researcher. In terms of authenticity, in most instances, the researcher had access to material from the originating organisation or group, and copies were made by the author where necessary. The researcher engaged in substantial cross checking to identify as often as possible the authorship, date and other relevant factors. The amount of material available was generally sufficient for successful cross-checking, and at times other green movement participants were referred to for verification.[35] In terms of assessing credibility of the documentation, the familiarity of the researcher with the movement provided a context in which to assess sincerity and the purpose of the documentation.

However, for credibility, as for representativeness, there were more issues of objectivity to be considered. For instance, there was the risk of the researcher giving more weighting in research and time to the more familiar aspects of movement activity and projects. There was also the potential for the researchers' personal views and aspirations to be reflected in the interpretation of the documentation. These concerns have been addressed through careful attention to a wide range of information sources and informal discussion with movement

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[34] The researcher was involved in the alternative community movement in the early 1980s, the green political movement since it formed in the mid-1980s, and to a more limited extent, the conservation movement in the early 1990s. The researcher was also involved in many campaigns and groups referred to in this study since 1980, as well as a range of other movements, including the libertarian, womens, urban, peace, civil liberties, and nonviolence movements. The researcher has also often held office-bearing positions in many organisations, with consequent access to a wide variety of resources useful to this study: information about the internal organisational matters, strategy and agenda considerations; involvement in networking; knowledge of, and access to, organisational and private archival material.

[35] Drew Hutton and Malcolm Lewis read this study for factual verification (any inaccuracies are, however, my own responsibility). Drew Hutton was involved in the radical movements in Brisbane during the 1970s. Both were directly involved, or otherwise strongly connected with, what this thesis refers to as the conservation, alternative community, and political green movements, since the early 1980s.

participants throughout the thesis.[36] On the other hand, assessing representativeness was enhanced through the familiarity of the researcher with the green movement, in that the researcher knew how to gain access to the archives and where to find information.

A distinct advantage of the involvement of the researcher was in interpreting the meaning of the documentation. Interpretive meaning was enhanced by the researcher's familiarity with the counter-cultures of the various parts of the green movement, and with the language and imagery used to express the cherished beliefs. The researcher's own experience also aided interpretation with respect to the context in which it was written.

While there were some risks of the researcher failing to achieve objectivity, overall the previous involvement by the researcher in the green movement was an advantage.

**research outline**

The central aim of this thesis is to determine the significance of the preoccupation with sustainability by the green movement in southeast Queensland. The movement-centred approach, referred to above, provides a means for doing this, in relation to the analysis of movement documentation and some secondary sources. For this thesis, the green movement is conceptualised as a complex social phenomenon characterised by characteristics of differentiation and cohesion: highly differentiated in terms of social forms and structure, and cohesive in terms of social processes which maintain unity in the face of the differentiation. Chapter Two outlines the theoretical basis for the movement-centred approach with respect to these characteristics. Chapters One and two comprise Part A of the thesis.

In addition, several themes and aims structure the various parts of this thesis. The thesis proceeds in Part B by identifying the three environmental projects which were formed from the green movements. Chapters Three, Four, and Five address the conservation, alternative community, and green political movements respectively, in a time frame from the late 1960s

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[36] See earlier footnote about discussions with Hutton and Lewis. The researcher also engaged in informal 'exploratory' discussions with green movement participants, often when approaching individuals and organisations for access to documentation sources.

to late 1980s. In each instance, the movements are located in a regional, state, and national context as relevant to the character of the movement. Each Chapter is shaped by theoretical considerations about *how issues and concerns are produced* by movements.[37] The Chapters contribute to the aims of the thesis by explicating the bases upon which the environmental projects reflect criticism of the institutional arrangements of the prevailing social and political order.

Part B shows that the green movements were restrained from realising their environmental projects by a variety of factors specific to each movement. The remainder of this thesis therefore addresses endeavours by the green movements to realise their projects in a changing social, political, and institutional context of government reforms, as well as a movement context of national movement re-organisation. The time frame for this part of the thesis is the late 1980s onwards.

The notion of movement *consolidation* is the central organising theme for Chapters Six and Seven which comprise Part C. Consolidation refers to a range of factors including the coalescence of local networks and events, the growing density of contacts and communication, organisational coalitions and fusions, overlapping participation and coordination of activities, the formation of a core (specific organisations and ethos groups), and the emergence of a unified leadership.[38] Green movement consolidation is addressed in relation to the regional and national context which assumes increasing relevance to the green movement in southeast Queensland from the late 1980s onwards. Chapter Six focuses more explicitly on institutional changes linked to state and local government reforms. Chapter Seven focuses on movement re-organisation with reference to the national context.

Chapter Eight which comprise Part D, assesses the success of the movement consolidation strategies, with reference to the achievement of *engagement*. Engagement refers to a bridge between the fundamental critique of the social order and the dominant discourse permeating dominant institutions and social practices. Engagement may be expressed as innovation,

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[37] See Chapter Two: Production of Issues and Concerns.

[38] See Chapter Two: Movement Consolidation.

which is the goal of the movements, or containment and accommodation.[39] This chapter assesses the significance of the sustainability theme of the green movement in southeast Queensland in terms of the aspirations and intentions of the movements, rather than exclusively in terms of impact upon public policy.

The theoretical and conceptual themes raised in this chapter are discussed more fully in Chapter Two. Chapter Two explains why the movement-centred approach was chosen over the more conventional pressure group theory. It also outlines the characteristics of the movement-centred approach and their relevance to the aims of this thesis.

[39] See Chapter Two: Efficacy of Movements.

# Chapter Two

# A MOVEMENT-CENTRED APPROACH

This chapter expands upon the theoretical framework indicated earlier, in the introductory chapter. The first section of this chapter explains the limitations of pressure group theory, and the subsequent reliance upon a *movement-centred approach*, for this study. The movement-centred approach has been adapted from movement scholarship, with specific reference to contemporary movement theorising by Pakulski and Melucci.[1] The two following sections outline the central characteristics of this approach. The first section addresses *differentiation* characteristics of movements, in terms of their structure and dimensions. The following one focuses upon *cohesion* characteristics, with respect to the social processes which constitute movements and their activities. The final section considers the efficacy of movements and their role in social change. Collectively, these sections on the movement-centred approach propose a theoretical basis for this thesis in which the movement is the central focus of analysis.

## A MOVEMENT-CENTRED APPROACH

As noted in Chapter One, Australian green movement scholarship has been dominated by approaches based on pressure group theory. This thesis adopts a quite different approach, derived from recent movement scholarship. To account for this choice, this section identifies some the limitations of pressure group theory for the analysis of contemporary movements. It also introduces the movement scholarship from which the movement-centred approach has been derived.

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[1] Jan Pakulski. *Social Movements. The Politics of Moral Protest*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1991, Alberto Melucci. "The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements". *Social Research*. Winter. 1985. 789-816, and Alberto Melucci. *Nomads of the Present. Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society*. Temple University Press. Philadelphia 1989. Pakulski is interested in what he refers to as 'mass social movements', referring to, for instance, the fascist movement earlier this century and the eco-pax movement of recent decades. Melucci, on the other hand, is more concerned with contemporary movements associated with the New Left and counter-culture in the latter half of this century.

**limits of pressure group theory for studies of movements**

Pressure group theory attributes to pressure groups rational goal-seeking intentions within the institutional limits of the political system. Accordingly, the central preoccupations of pressure group theorists concern the impact upon political processes and public policy by organised collectivities. Moreover, pressure group theory highlights formal organisations or empirically evident groups; those capable of developing and promoting coherent political programs, those having legitimate claims for representation, and those with clear lines of accountability - what Stewart and Ward refer to as "routinised collective action".[2] Matthews defines pressure groups as:

> any association that makes a claim, either directly or indirectly on the government, so as to influence the making or administering of public policy without being willing to exercise the formal powers of government.[3]

Warhurst proposes that pressure groups enhance democracy (in liberal democracies) by providing increased opportunities for political participation in a system dominated by large parties.[4]

However this thesis identifies problems with pressure group theory which limits its suitability for the analysis of movements. These problems include the failure of pressure group theory to account for the apparently unconventional characteristics of contemporary movements, specifically the types of social forms and the issues promoted. These characteristics do not appear to conform to the rational goal-seeking associations indicated by pressure group theory, and are discussed in some detail below.

Many scholars of contemporary movements draw attention to the 'unconventional' characteristics of contemporary movements such as the social forms. This notions refers to movement phenomena such as fairs and festivals, lifestyle communities, symbolic public

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[2] Randal Stewart and Ian Ward. *Politics One*. Macmillan Education Australia. South Melbourne. 1992. p.135.

[3] T. Matthews. "Australian Pressure Groups". H. Mayer and H. Nelson. eds. *Australian Politics*. a Fourth Reader. Longman Cheshire. 1976. p.220.

[4] John Warhurst. "In defence of single-issue interest groups". *Australian Quarterly*. vol.58. no.1. 1986. pp.108-109.

protests, and alternative institutions. Rochon, for instance, notes that activities at a 'peace camp' at a cruise missile base in Great Britain included:

> religious observances of Easter and the marriage of two members of the Molesworth peace camp ... followed by an afternoon of food, music, games for children, kite flying, ... planting of trees, shrubs, vegetables, flowers ... and a display of banners from peace groups in various countries.[5]

Boggs discusses draws attention to various forms of contemporary popular mobilisation, which include:

> building of local structures (community organisations, tenant's unions, women's health clinics) ... [and] .. direct action in the form of demonstrations, marches, strikes, boycotts, sit-ins and so forth.[6]

Other movement commentators refer to forms of organisation for which pressure group theory does not account. In Australia, for example, Docker states that the new left was characterised by "consciousness-raising groups", "tribal meetings" and "counter-cultural community groups".[7] These observations indicate that the notions of organisation or association which are characteristic of pressure group theory, are inadequate for theorising many of the social forms present in contemporary movements.

Moreover, attention is drawn by contemporary movement scholars to apparently unconventional political styles. Boggs, referring to recent "popular insurgency", notes that:

> rarely is ... energy directed at the actual conquest of institutional power or the representation of specific interests within the state system.[8]

Pakulski claims that mass social movements contain a range of inconsistent goals, programs, and activities. While they do focus on certain concrete issues, he observes that:

> movements are not particularly concerned with the achievement of some aims ... aims and issues are frequently changed, discarded and modified, even within a single

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[5] Thomas R. Rochon. *Mobilising for Peace*. Princetown University Press. Princetown New Jersey. 1988, page 98.

[6] Carl Boggs. *Social Movements and Political Power. Emergent Forms of Radicalism in the West*. Temple University Press. Philadelphia. 1986. p.48.

[7] John Docker. "'Those halcyon days': the moment of the New Left". Brian Head and James Walters. eds. *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*. Oxford University Press. Melbourne. 1988. p.297.

[8] Boggs. *Social Movements and Political Power*. 1986. p.48.

demonstration.[9]

These characteristics do not conform to the rational goal-seeking character of conventional political actors as would be expected of conventional pressure groups.

There are a variety of explanations for these observations. Some scholars have defined these characteristics as disruptive or as aberrant behaviour, which contrasts with 'normal politics'. These explanations, however, fail to adequately consider institutional and structural factors.[10] Some other scholars claim, on the other hand, that these characteristics *can* be considered 'normal politics'. For instance, Scott argues that these unconventional characteristics can be explained in terms of social closure, mobilisation and interest articulation. He draws attention to continuities between contemporary movements and previous ones, emphasising the formally rational characteristics of both. He attributes these characteristics to "manifestations of dysfunctions" in the political decision-making processes, which may be resolved through the integration of interests into normal political processes.[11] Others have attributed these characteristics to the lack of familiarity with the means or resources to engage in the "orderly" politics of pressure group activities.[12] These approaches assume that seemingly unconventional political activity can be explained with reference to rational goal-seeking intentions within the institutional limits of the political system.

However, these approaches fail to consider the qualitative changes in industrialised society which have emerged over this century. For instance, scholarship on the post-industrial, postmodern and information society suggests that new forms of power and control have

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[9] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.46.

[10] See Neil J. Smelser. *Theory of Collective Behaviour*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. London. 1962 in which he attributes the motivation of generalised (hysterical) belief to the preparedness of individuals to participate in panics, crazes, hostile outbursts, and norm- and value-oriented movements. Also see discussions of motivational theorists and relative deprivation in Joan Neff Gurney and Kathleen J. Tierney. "Relative deprivation and social movements. A critical look at twenty years of theory and research". *The Sociological Quarterly*. Winter. no. 23. 1982. pp.33-47, and Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald. "Social movements". Neil J. Smelser. ed. *Handbook of Sociology*. SAGE Publications. London. 1988.

[11] Alan Scott. *Ideology and the New Social Movements*. Unwin Hyman. London. 1990. p.9.

[12] Stewart and Ward. *Politics One*. 1992. pp.135-140.

emerged which are qualitatively distinct from those experienced in industrial society.[13] These issues are, however, addressed by recent contemporary movement scholarship.

This scholarship proposes that unconventional mobilisation forms and demands may indicate the presence of new forms of conflict in contemporary society.[14] Therefore, contemporary movement activity is not necessarily fully explicable in terms of endeavours to influence public policy or attain political inclusion. Touraine proposes that contemporary movements may represent purposeful activity towards gaining "social control over the main cultural patterns"[15] while Eder claims that they represent the potential for the institutionalisation of a "new moral order".[16] Some theorists have proposed distinctions between conventional political activity and activity which constitutes engagement with the new conflicts. One characterisation of the qualitative difference between the contemporary and conventional forms of activity is the differentiation made between the instrumental and expressive, that it, goal-seeking intentions against attempts to fulfil personal needs.[17] Another distinction is between formal and substantive rationality, counter-posing rational, calculating behaviour against concern about values.[18] These explanations which are based on the assumption that new conflicts are present in contemporary society can account for the unconventional social forms and demands. For instance, Melucci states that "the *form* of the movement is itself a

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[13] Daniel Bell. *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. Basic Books, Inc. New York. 1973 and Alain Touraine. *Postindustrial Society*. Random House. New York. 1971 refer to postindustrial society. Bryan S. Turner.ed. *Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity*. SAGE Publications. London. 1990 and Jurgen Habermas. *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action*. Polity Press. MIT. 1990 contrast postmodernity against modernity. Trevor Barr. ed. *Challenges and Change. Australia's Information Society*. Oxford University Press. in association with the Commission for the Future. Oxford. 1987, James Beniger. *The Control Revolution*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge Massachussetts. 1986, Manuel Castells. *Informational City. Informational Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Process*. Basil Blackwell. London. 1989, and Timothy Luke. *Screens of Power*. University of Illinois Press. Chicago. 1989 refer to information society.

[14] See the special edition of *Social Research*. Winter. 1985, which focuses on 'new social movement' theory.

[15] Alain Touraine. "An introduction to the study of social movements". *Social Research*. Winter. 1985. pp.754-55.

[16] Klaus Eder. "A new social movement?" *Telos*. Summer. no.52. 1982. p.16.

[17] See discussion in Rochon. *Mobilising for Peace*. 1988. p.99.

[18] Pakulski uses this distinction, based on Weber's distinction between formal and substantive rationality - Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.162-63.

message, a symbolic challenge to the cultural code." [author's emphasis][19]

These issues are significant to this thesis, as the green movement appears to bear many of the unconventional characteristics that others have noted in other contemporary movements. For instance, the formation of work, land, and investment cooperatives were central to the alternative community movement, to service the endeavour to achieve alternative lifestyles rather than to influence public policy. Another example was the character of the issues raised by the Brisbane Green Party in the mid-1980s. These issues included demands for *immediate* nuclear disarmament, economic equality and participatory democracy. Moreover, the green movement, like other movements, did not as a whole reflect the political administrative boundaries, although specific organisations and campaigns did may have. For instance, the alternative community movement deliberately eschewed the recognition of politico-administrative boundaries in favour of conceptualising boundaries in ecological terms, referred to as bio-regions. Pressure group theory offers no satisfactory way to theorise these characteristics. This characteristic of pressure group theory contributes to explaining why studies of the Queensland (and Australian) green movement to date, as noted in the previous Chapter, have focused primarily upon the activities of the conservation organisations and electoral strategies to the virtual exclusion of other parts of the green movement.

**geographical dimensions and distinctiveness of southeast Queensland**

Conceptualising the relationship between the southeast Queensland green movement and the Queensland, Australian and international green movement(s) is another important consideration, raised by the failure of movements to reflect politico-administrative boundaries. This raises issues about the boundaries of the green movement in southeast Queensland, particularly in terms of differences and continuities.

Firstly, there was a distinction between the green movement in Brisbane and in the regional centres: the Brisbane movement was influenced to a much larger degree by the radical political counter-culture than in the regional centres. Nonetheless, there appeared to be

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[19] Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1989. p.60.

continuities between the green movement in southeast Queensland and Queensland. For instance the alternative community movement was widely dispersed throughout the state, although clustered in some regions. The urban and regional conservation organisations were generally affiliated with the Queensland Conservation Council, and often co-operated with each other in campaigns.

Another issue is that while there were organisations, campaigns, and networks specific to southeast Queensland, there were also significant continuities between the green movement in (southeast and state-wide) Queensland and the green movement in other states and internationally. For instance, the federated structure of the Australian political system was reflected in the organisational structure of the conservation movement and more recently in the political wing of the movement. The conservation movement contained regional organisations, state-based and federal peak councils, as well as some organisations which formed independently at a federal level. The Australian Greens, on the other hand, comprised a federation of state parties, each drawing upon different elements of the green movements within those states, but nonetheless supporting a federal organisational infrastructure.

There were also less formal linkages across states. For instance, the alternative community, as a matter of policy, established the movement infrastructure and focus in terms of bioregions. Moreover, even less formally, there were social and other networks, such as Pegasus electronic communications networks, which were dispersed beyond the Queensland borders. The international linkage was most apparent through the identification of various parts of the green movement with specified international phenomena, such as the German Greens. This boundary issue supports the contention that movements do not necessarily direct their attention to the state. Instead there are other factors which may determine the structure and aims of movements outside pressure group activity.

These issues also raise considerations about the distinctiveness of the green movement in Queensland. Queensland was a distinct political administrative unit, subject to the policies of a democratically elected state government. The Australian states (and territories) developed initially in substantial geographical isolation from each other, and patterns of economic development and urbanisation, and political history were quite distinctive. Thus, to some

degree Queensland, could be considered to have its own distinctive culture and history. However, Queensland also participated in a federation with a comparatively powerful federal level of government. Moreover, increasingly a range of factors other than political ones had homogenised Queensland culture(s) to some degree with the rest of Australia: for instance, urbanisation, communication technologies, and demographic mobility.

These issues of distinctiveness and continuities with respect to the green movement in southeast Queensland suggest that a range of factors need to be brought to bear when conceptualising the presence of the green movement. These factors include regional, state, national, and international considerations, as well as institutional, political, and structural. This range of factors is not readily accommodated by the state-centred focus of pressure group theory.

**movement scholarship**

A central concern in establishing a theoretical approach for this thesis, therefore, is to outline an approach more suitable to its aims by examining recent movement scholarship. Analysis of movements has increased over the last few decades, informed by a range of disciplines including sociology, anthropology, political science, and social psychology. This scholarship reflects upon the rise of a variety of movements the world over, particularly emergence of the nationalist, religious, women's, peace and environment movements since the start of the post-war period, for instance.[20] A fundamental characteristic of this thesis is that the *movement* is considered to be the central focus of analysis. This movement-centred approach aims to address the concerns about pressure group theory raised above, notably the unconventional forms of mobilisation and concerns, and the empirical dimension of movements.

The movement-centred approach has been substantially derived from movement theorising

[20] For a thorough literature surveys see: Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald. "Social movements". Neil J. Smelser. ed. *Handbook of Sociology*. SAGE publications. London. 1988, Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1989, and Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991.

by Melucci and Pakulski.[21] Both Melucci and Pakulski have formulated general movement theories drawing upon a diverse body of movement literature. Their main strengths lie in the integration of various otherwise competing preoccupations, notably the macro and micro dimensions of movement theorising. For instance, Pakulski and Melucci theorise movements in terms of new systemic conflicts in society. They locate the actual expressions of these conflicts in specific social conditions. In addition, both theorists draw attention to a range of internal movement and contextual factors to explain the characteristics of movements, for instance, the role of leadership and the formation of shared meanings by movement participants.[22] However each theorist offers a particular contribution to the theoretical approach adopted here.

Melucci proposes a social action approach to movement theorising, accounting for movement solidarity and changes in movements over time.[23] His approach can reconcile the identification of the three analytically distinct green movements (referred to in Chapter One) with the notion of 'a' green movement located in the geographical region of southeast Queensland. In so doing, the social action approach underpinning Melucci's movement theorising also reconciles the presence of a plurality of environmental projects in the green movement, in relation to these three green movements.

Pakulski proposes a framework for analysing contemporary movements,[24] with reference to six characteristics: social conditions for mobilisation and development, dominant orientations, issues and concerns, movement constituencies, movement structure and leadership, the symbolic sphere, and movement trajectories.[25] These factors have been addressed in varying degrees throughout this thesis, according to their relevance. His

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[21] Melucci. "The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements". 1985, Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1989, and Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991.

[22] See Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.53-84 for six movement characteristics, and Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1989 in the section on "Towards a Theory of Collective Action."

[23] Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1989 in the section on "Towards a Theory of Collective Action", and Melucci. "The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements". 1985.

[24] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991.

[25] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.53-84.

approach to the anti-systemic dimension of contemporary movements has also been adapted to this thesis, as have some analytical insights derived from his study of what he refers to as the eco-pax movement in Australia.

## MOVEMENTS AND DIFFERENTIATION

This section is the first of two which outline the theoretical approach, based in movement scholarship, that guides this thesis. Fundamental to this approach is the identification of the empirical dimensions of movements. This section examines differentiation characteristics of movements, in contrast to the following section which focuses upon cohesion. Differentiation refers to the lack of unity in movements, specifically to their complex structure, and the identification of anti-systemic and conventional dimensions.

### conceptualising movements

As discussed above, pressure group theory and related conventional accounts are inadequate for theorising the empirical basis and role of movements. For this thesis, two conceptual issues in particular need to be addressed. Firstly, the need for a conceptualisation of a movement quite distinct from an organisation, and secondly, a theoretical account of the unconventional characteristics of movements.

Pakulski describes movements as "segmented, reticulate (web-like)" or "polycephalous (many-headed)".[26] This description addresses many observed characteristics of movements, and forms the basis of the movement structure proposed for this thesis. Movements are conceptualised as a complexity of interconnected, or networked, social forms. Social forms refers to social networks, sporadic campaigns, cultural activities, and communications and information-sharing processes, as well as formal organisations. Another characteristic of the movement structure is that there may be multiple participation across the social forms, which contributes to movement density.[27]

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[26] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.73.

[27] Pakulski refers to 'density' as the degree of "contacts and communication, organisational coalitions and fusions, overlapping participation and coordination of activities" - Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.79-80.

This conceptualisation of movement structure allows for a lack of consensus by movement participants about individual or collective claims of membership of a movement.[28] It also creates conceptual space for avoiding the public/private dichotomy characteristic of conventional political theory. That is, the social forms which comprise movements may reside in both the public and private domains, linked through other social forms. According to Melucci:

> the normal situation of today's 'movement' is a network of small groups submerged in everyday life which require a personal involvement in experiencing and practicing cultural innovation.[29]

The notion of 'submerged' is crucial for overcoming the conceptual dichotomy between the public and private. Moreover, this conceptualisation gives some empirical substance to movements, in that they do not correspond to politico-administrative boundaries nor other clearly defined geographical considerations, and can account for the local, regional, state, national, and international movement linkages. It is possible, therefore to speak of a movement within a geographically defined region provided the movement linkages outside that region have been recognised. This is an important consideration for this thesis of the green movement in southeast Queensland. As outlined above, the green movement in southeast Queensland has a range of state, national and international linkages.

The second conceptual issue is linked to the presence of what appear to be characteristics that are qualitatively different from pressure group activity. Some movement scholarship has privileged what this thesis has referred to as the unconventional characteristics of contemporary movements as their defining characteristic. Contemporary movements have been attributed the role of new social actors engaged in conflicts specific to contemporary society. Touraine, for instance, has argued that the new movements represent "potentially decisive agents of historical transformation".[30] This scholarship is useful for explaining the unconventional characteristics of movements. However, a weakness in this approach has been

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[28] In his study of the Queensland conservation movement, Doyle notes this lack of consensus about who is considered a 'genuine' member in the movement - T.J. Doyle. "The myth of the common goal: the conservation movement in Queensland". *Social Alternatives*. vol.6. no.4. 1987. pp.33-34.

[29] Melucci. "The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements". 1985. p.800.

[30] Touraine's approach is referred to in Boggs. *Social Movements and Political Power*. 1986. p.3.

noted by some contemporary movement theorists. In his study of the peace movement, Rochon states that:

> the new social movement theory ... focuses on the radical ideology of the peace movement rather than on the extent to which its activities take place within the existing political system.[31]

He suggests that movements are more complex social phenomena than the term 'movement' implies. He proposes that movements engage in activity that may include, but does not entirely comprise, radical activity. Other theorists support Rochon's criticism of the new social movement scholarship. For instance, according to Melucci:

> both the supporters and the critics of the paradigm of 'new movements' share the same epistemological limitations: the contemporary phenomena are regarded as a unified empirical object.[32]

This issue of the complexity of movements has already been addressed to some extent through the conceptualisation of the movement structure, discussed above. That is, the movement structure can accommodate a range of qualitatively different kinds of activity. For instance, the conservation movement apparently directs much of its activity to influencing public policy, while the early political green movement is more concerned with pointing out problems with the way society operates.

Further to this, Melucci attributes to movements a *plurality of dimensions*, implying the potential for the presence of qualitatively different kinds of activity in relation to different "levels of the system".[33] Melucci proposes that:

> contemporary movements combine forms of action that: a) impact upon different levels of the social system; b) contain diverse goals; and c) belong to different phases of development of a system or to different historical systems.[34]

This notion has also been signalled by other contemporary movement scholars, for instance, in the distinction made between a movement and a social movement. Touraine distinguishes

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[31] Rochon. *Mobilising for Peace*. 1988. p.212.

[32] Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1989. p.42.

[33] Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1989. p.27.

[34] Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1989. p.43.

between "collective action", "struggles", and "social movements".[35] Rochon suggests that what he refers to as the instrumental and expressive dimensions can both be present at the same time.[36] This notion of a *plurality of dimensions* has been adopted for this thesis.

**plurality of dimensions**

According to the above discussion, movements can be understood as having a plurality of dimensions. However, there is a practical limit to the extent to which these dimensions can be distinguished in this thesis. Therefore this section proposes a simple model which goes some way towards distinguishing between them. This model has been derived from Pakulski's theorising of contemporary movements with reference to two issues: firstly, to the moral- or value-oriented basis for the substantively rational agenda, and secondly, to the specific conflict being waged by (contemporary) mass social movements.

Pakulski proposes that the rise of mass social movements constitutes a challenge to the legitimacy of conventional political (and other social) institutions. The challenge is predicated on a perceived disjunction between institutional outcomes and social values which are commonly held as the moral basis for these institutions,[37] the "*real versus the ideal*". Pakulski refers to this phenomenon as the "politics of moral protest".[38] With reference to contemporary movements, this moral protest has been characterised by unconventional, or substantively rational political practices rather than engagement in orderly, or formally rational, political activity:[39]

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[35] Alain Touraine. 1988. *Return of the Actor*. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis. 1988. p.66.

[36] Rochon. *Mobilising for Peace*. 1988. p.99.

[37] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.36.

[38] The phrase is the subtitle of Jan Pakulski's publication, *Social Movements*. 1991.

[39] Pakulski bases this distinction upon Weber's proposition that formal rationality characterises Western modernity. Formal rationality refers to the 'purely formal maximisation of calculability of means,' without regard to the ends served, is value-neutral, quantitative, objective, and impersonal. Formal rationality has, according to Weber, increasingly permeated all areas of social life, replacing traditional social arrangements; as in the market, legal formalism, and modern political institutions, where the 'principal articulator' is bureaucracies. Substantive rationality, on the other hand, is more concerned with ends and values, such as democracy, autonomy, equality, justice - Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.162-3.

> [Mass social movements] do not speak the language of power contest, and they do not 'fit' well the framework of conventional politics - the domain of parties, lobbies and pressure groups. Even if movement activities are compatible with the interests and programmes of such conventional groups, they usually violate the rules of conventional politics by refusing to focus on competition for institutionalised political power ..., to make deals and compromises, or to lobby the elites ... They do not enter into tactical coalitions, and, above all, they refuse to compromise on central moral issues and principles.[40]

Pakulski states that mass social movements express aversion towards engagement with formal political processes. He nonetheless considers mass social movements to be *political*, in that non-conventional political activity is intended to highlight the "limits of the system":

> Conflicts which movements articulate cannot be defused by policy adjustments and/or organisational reforms. Concerns with justice, dignity, peaceful co-existence and equality, when expressed in the context of criticism of existing sociopolitical arrangements, signal a general 'legitimacy crisis'.[41]

Unconventional political activity may thus signal a loss of faith by the participants in the legitimacy of the system. Moreover, non-negotiable demands and other forms of unconventional activity characteristic of contemporary movements constitute criticism not merely of social outcomes but also of the means by which the outcomes were produced - the systemic level of society - on the basis of a moral criteria:

> They [mass social movements] bring to the agenda the question of the adequacy of the sociopolitical arrangements, and they call into question the very ideological raison d'etat, the ability of the system to live up to its foundation values.[42]

The moral protest is political in that it constitutes criticism of the institutional basis of society, in terms of how the system operates.

The *system* to which Pakulski refers is the dominant politico-administrative system. He identifies four systems, according to the two dimensions of dominant rationality and dominant mode of coordination (or organisation). The partocratic system is characterised by a substantively rational centralised administrative system which fulfils centrally formulated goals, and where recruitment and promotion are based upon political or ideological

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[40] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.36.

[41] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.62.

[42] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.62.

knowledge and commitment. The democratic system refers to substantively rational poly-centric participation in goal-formulation, and decentralised grass roots involvement in decision-making.[43] Technocratic systems refer to a formally-rational poly-centric, collegial administrative system, emphasising a maximum of technical efficiency based on specialised experts and advisory bodies, and recruitment and promotion by technocratic credentials. The bureaucratic system is characterised by a formally-rational monocratic administrative system with strict formal rules and procedures, a hierarchical chain of command, and appointment and promotion by merit and seniority (see diagram 3).[44]

In relation to these four politico-administrative systems, Pakulski proposes that mass social movements pursue:

> opposition to particular political-administrative arrangements seen as responsible for systemic distortion or violation of values and principles cherished by movement participants.[45]

Mass social movements, therefore, are by definition *anti-systemic* in relation to the prevailing politico-administrative system. They are characterised as having a *negative directionality* of opposition to the rationality of the system, and a *positive directionality* towards one or more of the others types of systems (see diagram 4).[46] Anti-partocratic movements tend to adopt a democratic positive directionality, while anti-democratic movements tend to adopt a partocratic positive directionality: these are uni-directional movements. However both the anti-technocratic and anti-bureaucratic movements are bifurcated movements, and both can adopt partocratic and/or democratic directionality - and can share a common directionality on that basis. The bureaucratic negative directionality is opposed to bureaucratic formalism, legalism, instrumentalism, and hierarchical centralism. The technocratic negative directionality is opposed to technological instrumentalism, professional specialisation and compartmentalisation, and the narrow rationalism of experts. Thus anti-bureaucratic directionality reflects opposition to hierarchy and tends to be informally organised. The anti-

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[43] Pakulski used the term 'democratic' in a specific technical sense which differs from more general meanings for the term.

[44] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.47-48.

[45] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.37.

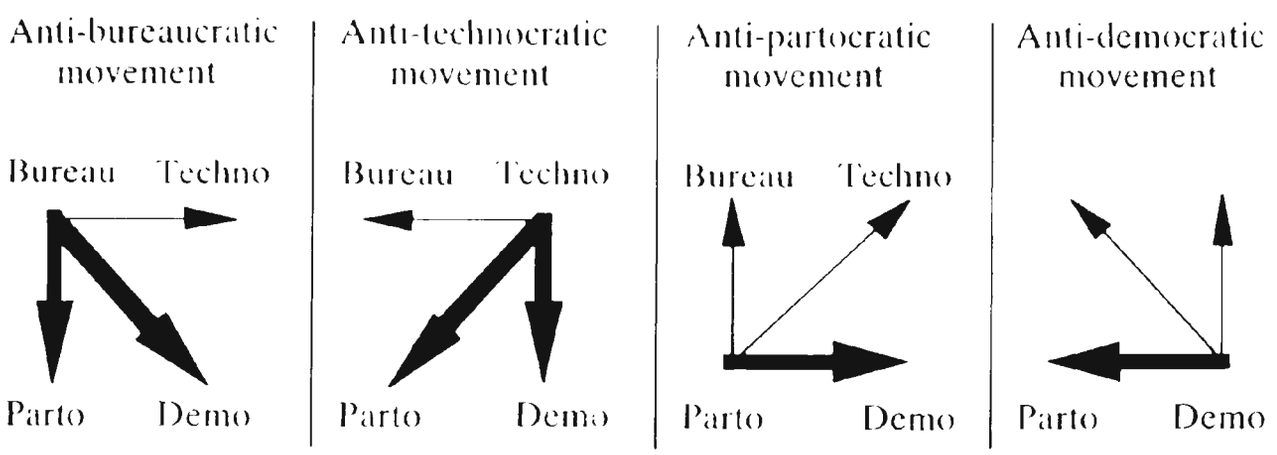
[46] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.63-66.

| Form of rationality (orientation): | Oganisational structure (co-ordination): *Mono-centric* | *Poly-centric* |
|---|---|---|
| *Formal (instrumental)* | BUREAUCRACY | TECHNOCRACY |
| *Substantive (goal-)* | PARTOCRACY | 'DEMOCRACY' |

**Types of political-administrative systems.**

Reprinted from Jan Pakulski. *Social Movements. The Politics of Moral Protest*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1991. p.47.

**diagram 3**




**Movements' directionality (positive orientations).**

Reprinted from Jan Pakulski. *Social Movements. The Politics of Moral Protest*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1991. p.63.

**diagram 4**

technocratic directionality is more likely to produce hierarchies than the anti-bureaucratic, and to form enduring and institutionalised organisations.[47] As bureaucratic systems often also exhibit characteristics of the technocratic, movements expressing negative directionality of both usually exist together and often overlap but are not necessarily empirically distinct.[48]

The *orientation* refers to the way that the directionality has been expressed under specific circumstances: for instance, the issues, symbolism, social forms, and the social context.[49] These factors represent movement and context driven variables which substantially qualify or mediate the social expression towards the positive directionality.

This approach to contemporary movement theorising has two major repercussions for this thesis. The first issue is the characterisation of the anti-systemic dimension of the green movement in southeast Queensland. The Queensland (and Australian) political system is a combination of bureaucratic and, more recently to some extent, technocratic systems. Thus in this thesis, the green movement in both southeast Queensland and more generally throughout Australia, has been attributed an anti-bureaucratic and -technocratic directionality. However the orientation, as a context-dependent expression of the positive directionality, is mediated by factors specific to southeast Queensland, Queensland, Australian, and, where relevant, the international context. The positive orientation arising from this specific context is the basis for the anti-systemic dimension of the green movement.

With reference to the anti-bureaucratic directionality, Pakulski identifies a tension between what he refers to as *democratic* and *interventionist* orientations. The democratic orientation has a liberal dimension concerned mainly with civil liberties issues. The radical dimension of the democratic orientation is derived substantially from some socialist and anarchist thought. All apparent forms of centralism, including the apparata of the modern state, are opposed in favour of grassroots activism and participatory practices. In contrast to this anti-centralist orientation, the interventionist orientation is not necessarily anti-centralist. Support

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[47] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.64-5.

[48] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.46-47.

[49] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.60-62.

is given for some centralised political interventions provided a moral program is being pursued, the "moralisation of politics, the economy and the whole of social life through an injection and re-invigoration of value commitments *from above*" [authors emphasis].[50] Thus the interventionist orientation has a partocratic aspect. The presence of both, or the dominance of one by another, can be explained only in terms of the specific movements and context.

The second issue concerns the manageability of Pakulski's theoretical approach to this thesis. The above discussion has proposed that the anti-systemic dimension can be explained in terms of a moral protest by contemporary movements against the operation of the prevailing dominant politico-administrative system. Accordingly, in this thesis, the *anti-systemic* dimension refers to promotion of substantively rational goals against the formally rationalist political-administrative structures:

> question[ing] the way in which the 'body politic' is constituted: the way in which decisions are made, policies are shaped, and programmes formulated ... in the name of principal legitimising social values.[51]

In this thesis on the green movement in southeast Queensland, the anti-systemic dimension involves a bureaucratic and technocratic negative directionality, and a democratic and partocratic positive directionality. The *conventional* dimension refers to rational goal-seeking activities by collectivities within the institutional limits of the political system. This dichotomy has limitations, notably the compression of a range of dimensions to either of two types.[52] However this model provides a workable basis for proceeding with this thesis.

## MOVEMENTS AND COHESION

The section above has focused primarily on differentiation characteristics of movements, with specific reference to the multiplicity of social forms which comprise movements and the plurality of dimensions. The primary concern of this section is to consider the cohesion

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[50] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.65.

[51] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.38.

[52] Also, Rochon suggests that what he refers to as the instrumental and expressive dimensions can both be present at the same time - Rochon. *Mobilising for Peace*. 1988. p.99.

characteristics of movements: that is, distinguishing the movement as a highly differentiated phenomenon from a simple aggregation,[53] with specific reference to movement theorising by Melucci,[54] and to a lesser extent Pakulski.[55] The social action-derived approach used to address these issues also presents a conceptualisation of how *movements produce concerns* which has specific relevance to the aims of this thesis.

**movements and social action**

The cohesion characteristics of movements can be explained in terms of social action theory, in conjunction with the movement structure conceptualisation discussed above.[56] Social action theory emphasises the contingent nature of social life or the *life-world* of individual participants in a culture.[57] According to this perspective, cultural rules are not simply transferred to actors through passive socialisation or the experience of their structural location, nor are they simply internally generated. Instead actors are attributed an active role in the production and reproduction of meanings: as having a consciousness and intention drawn from a shared stock of meanings and definitions which form the basis of culture. Therefore the actor's view of reality is located within specific cultural contexts.

However a major criticism of social action theory has been the exclusive focus on the social world, and subsequent neglect of issues of power, conflicts and constraints. More recent formulations of social action theory have endeavoured to extend the social action approach to a more complex social field which includes structural and institutional factors. Bilton et

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[53] Melucci distinguishes aggregation from solidarity: aggregation refers to "individualistic behaviour which is directed exclusively to its external environment", rather than to the group, and solidarity as "recognition as members of the same social unit" - Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1989. pp.27-28.

[54] Melucci. "The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements". 1985, and Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1989.

[55] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991.

[56] Bilton et al identify three main streams of social action theory - symbolic interactionism, phenomenological sociology, and ethnomethodology - in relation to the disciplines of anthropology and, to a lesser extent, sociology - Tony Bilton, Kevin Bonnett, Philip Jones, Michelle Stenworth, Ken Sheard and Andrew Webster. eds. *Introducing Sociology*. Macmillan Education Ltd. London, 1988. pp.589-601.

[57] According to Bilton at al. *Introducing Sociology*. 1987, 'life-world' refers to the 'precarious set of shared meanings' of an individual in recognition that the individual exists with a social world of culture.

al propose that:

> Action ... is creative and innovative, but it never takes place outside social contexts which involve (a) inequalities of power, knowledge and material resources as well as (b) socially constructed meanings, definitions and rules.[58]

Melucci, amongst other contemporary movement theorists, has adapted a social action approach consistent with these social action reformulations.[59]

According to Melucci, movements consist of social processes located in specific contexts:

> Individuals contribute to the formation of a more or less stable "we" by rendering common and laboriously negotiating and adjusting at least three orientations: the *goals* of their action; the *means* to be utilised; and the *environment* within which their action takes place. [author's emphasis][60]

A central social process is the formation of what he refers to as a "collective identity":

> Collective identity is an interactive and shared definition produced by several interacting individuals who are concerned with the orientations of their action as well as the field of opportunities and constraints in which their action takes place.[61]

Another central social process involves the "negotiation of meanings" where "individuals interact, influence each other, negotiate and hence establish conceptual and motivational frameworks for action."[62] The processes of collective identity formation and meanings negotiation may be pursued through shared ideological commitments or through identification with symbols to which many participants respond favourably. Moreover leadership may play an important role in generating cohesion or solidarity, across the differentiated characteristics

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[58] Bilton et al. *Introducing Sociology*. 1987. p.604.

[59] Some political scientists have adopted a social action approach. For instance see: Anthony Giddens. "Action, structure, power". Anthony Giddens. ed. *Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory*. Macmillan. 1982, Philip G. Cerny. *The Changing Architecture of Politics. Structure, Agency, and the Future of the State*. SAGE Publications. London. 1990, and Barry Hindess. "Power, interests and the outcomes of struggle". *Sociology*. vol.16, no.4. 1982. pages:500-511 for analyses of conflicts related to the modern state.

Touraine pioneered the social action approach for movement theorising - see Alain Touraine. *The Voice and the Eye*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. 1981, Alain Touraine. *Return of the Actor*. 1988. Others have also incorporated a social action approach, including Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1989, Melucci. "The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements". 1985, and Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991.

[60] Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1991. p.26.

[61] Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1991. p.34.

[62] Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1991. p.31.

of movements.

This model based on social processes has several implications for movement structure, the relationship between movement and the context, and the formation of issues and concerns. Firstly, it has implications for social processes internal to movements. These social processes of collective identity and meaning negotiation form the linkages across the multiplicity of social forms and dimensions of movements. Also this conceptualisation allows for movement linkages at local, regional, national, and international levels, in recognition that movements do not correspond to politico-administrative boundaries. This conceptualisation also allows for differentiation characteristics of movements, for instance, the social forms, dimensions and specific ideologies, which can be inconsistent and conflicting. This is an important consideration for this thesis, as there is no consensus within the green movement about what individuals, groups, or ideologies constitute the real green movement.

In spite of this complex conceptualisation of movements, a second implication of this model is that movements can be considered *actors*, rather than responses to objective phenomena. For the purposes of this thesis, actor refers to a collectivity united in solidarity, referring to a shared recognition by participants as members of the same social unit. It has been distinguished from a simple aggregation in which the behaviour of a set of individuals is directed exclusively to the external environment.[63] This use of the term actor is not to be confused with conventional sociological meanings for the term, such as the marxist notion of a class actor,[64] an organisation, or individual. Nor is it consistent with Touraine's more specialised meaning, in which social movements as actors are considered the historical actors in social change.[65] To some extent the term actor has been adopted to avoid too much dependence on the notion of organisation, which is only one of many social forms present in movements. The central significance of referring to a movement as an actor for this thesis

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[63] See Melucci. *Nomads of the Present*. 1989. pp.27-28.

[64] Class, in this sense, refers to the identification of a social group in terms of its position in the production process - see, for instance, David Lee and Howard Newby. *The Problem of Sociology*. Hutchinson. Melbourne. 1983. p.121.

[65] See Touraine. *Return of the Actor*. 1988. This study is in accord with Touraine's proposal that movements may play a role in radical social change. However Touraine's conceptualisation of movements encompasses the anti-systemic dimension while this study proposes that movements contain anti-systemic and conventional dimensions.

is two-fold, regarding both the relationship between movements and context, and the issues and concerns espoused by movements.

As actors, movements interact with, rather than merely respond to, the social context. The social context refers to two interrelated sets of social conditions. The macro-factors include the institutional, structural, and political social conditions. Micro-factors include localised social conditions, specific to both the movement and the context in which it is operating. According to Melucci:

> Action has to be viewed as an interplay of aims, resources and obstacles, as a *purposeful orientation which is set up within a system of opportunities and constraints*. [author's emphasis][66]

Thus movements may pursue purposeful activity within a specific institutional, political, and structural context, referred to here as "a system of constraints and opportunities". Social conditions associated with movement formation are rapid changes and crises, social control issues, sociopolitical blockage and relative closure, opportunities, patterns of mobilisation, and local factors.[67] These factors have been incorporated into this thesis, with specific attention paid to the following factors: political factors such as the prevailing government(s) and their policies; the institutional basis of the political system; structural issues with particular reference to urbanisation and political economy; and previously established movements and other social actors.

The movement, as an actor, also constitutes a facet of the social conditions of action. Pakulski has drawn attention to the link between internal movement social processes, local social conditions, and macro-factors:

> Favoured forms of protest ... cannot be fully accounted for by sociopolitical factors alone. They always reflect specific *sociocultural* configurations and local traditions, as well as processes of collective learning, which lead to the evolution of protest forms and result in the development of unique of dynamic movement counter-cultures. While many elements of these counter-cultures ... can be linked with the character of political-administrative systems and the norms they entail, the self-referential character of MSMS [mass social movements] makes it necessary to treat them *also* as 'action systems' that contain elements of their own unfolding logic. [author's

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[66] Melucci. "The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements". 1985. pp.792-93.

[67] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.53-54.

emphasis][68]

Thus the relationship between movement and context can be considered a *dialogue*.[69] In this thesis, the three green movements which constitute the green movement in southeast Queensland are conceptualised as quite distinctive social phenomena, each with their own dialogue with the context.

**production of issues and concerns**

The notion of a movement as an actor also has implications for the nature of the issues and concerns espoused by movements. As suggested earlier, social negotiation of meanings takes place within movements under specific social conditions. This view suggests that issues articulated by movements are not simple reflections of objective circumstances. Instead, movement participants interpret, or mediate the perception of, objective circumstances through the collective social processes. In this sense, movements *produce* concerns and issues, albeit in relation to objective circumstances. Thus in determining why a specific issue or concern has been espoused by a movement, it is necessary to examine factors intrinsic to the specific movement, to the *dialogue between movement and context*, as well as the objective event. For instance, Pakulski points out that anti-systemic actors may interpret objective events as symptoms of system failure while other actors may not.[70]

Furthermore, the notion of the production of issues and concerns can account for the different priorities, emphases, and even conflicting purposes across movements. This differentiation of issues and concerns can largely be attributed to the processes through which the issues and concerns were produced within different parts of the movement. Component parts of movements may have specific processes of issue production in relation to their specific movement characteristics and dialogue with the context, in spite of their formation

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[68] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.59-60.

[69] I have borrowed - and adapted - Pakulski's term. He uses it to establish the dynamic relationship between movement and context, particularly in relation to initial responses to blockages and crisis situations, but also to institutions, organisation forms, and normative systems. In this study it also refers to social construction of meanings.

[70] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.66-67.

in the objectively same social conditions.

To render the above propositions manageable for this thesis, a distinction has been made between *institutionalised and non-institutionalised actors*. Institutionalised actors refers to organisations while non-institutionalised actors to the multiplicity of non-organisation social forms within movements. They have been distinguished on the basis of different kinds of issue formation processes. Like the above conventional/anti-systemic dichotomy, this distinction also compresses a wide range of social phenomena into either of two categories. Nonetheless it is helpful for identifying component parts of the green movement, and aids in theorising the contradictory characteristics of movements.

For the purposes of this thesis, formal organisations within movements which engage with dominant institutions through conventional political practices have been conceptualised as institutionalised actors. These organisations have many characteristics in common with other kinds of institutionalised actors. Institutionalised actors include component parts of the state and its agencies, and related forums which have also involved industrial, professional and community interests, and also the media. The organisational structure and processes may be a stronger determinant of the purpose and outcomes of the organisations than the individual goals and intentions of the participants (or workers) within the organisations which constitute the institutionalised actors. In bureaucratic and technocratic organisations, such as those which dominate contemporary liberal-democratic systems, formal roles, decision-making practices, and accountability issues (particularly if relatively large amounts of funding and other resources are involved) often involve prescribed practices independent of the person undertaking them. For instance, according to Weber:

> In a great majority of cases, [the bureaucrat] is only a single cog in an ever-moving mechanism which prescribes to him [sic] an essentially fixed route of march. The official is entrusted with specialised tasks and normally the mechanism cannot be put into motion or arrested by him, but only from the very top. The individual bureaucrat is thus forged to the community of all the functionaries who are integrated into the mechanism. They have a common interest in seeing that the mechanism continues its functions and that the societally exercised authority carries on.[71]

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[71] Max Weber. "Bureaucracy". S.N. Eisenstadt. ed. *Max Weber. On Charisma and Institution Building*. University of Chicago Press. Chicago. 1968. p.75.

Rourke refers to bureaucracies as "highly organised information and advisory systems".[72] He claims that this characteristic substantially influences the "value or factual premises of decision-making" by those in bureaucratic organisations.[73] These factors may operate in relation to factors within specific institution as well as the larger institutional system of which it is a part. For instance, Wilson draws attention to the political context as one determinant in the outcomes of bureaucracies.[74] Rourke points out that bureaucracies generally have self-interests to protect and the need to maintain support of often more powerful agencies, in a broader context.[75] Issues and concerns of institutionalised movement actors, thus, may have some independence from the aspirations of the individual participants.

The issues and concerns promoted by movement actors, and the character of these actors, may be shaped by their endeavour to engage with other institutionalised actors such as state agencies. As indicated above, institutionalised actors such as state agencies experience a range of internal and external factors which shape the agendas and outcomes. Movement actors attempting to engage with these institutionalised actors may be confronted with the relative inflexibility of these agendas and outcomes. According to Rourke:

> Regulatory agencies exercise a great deal of power merely because they have the authority to give or withhold benefits, and to inflict or refrain from imposing sanctions. When these agencies have such discretion, groups subject to their jurisdiction must defer to them even if their legal authority is not altogether clear.[76]

An institutionalised movement actor is likely to form from the endeavour to engage with other non-movement institutionalised actors, such as state agencies. For instance, formulation of binding policies and programs may be the minimum necessary requirement for gaining the attention of a state agency from which a particular outcome is sought. A condition of gaining standing in government consultation forums may be the capacity to commit a specific

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[72] Francis E. Rourke. *Bureaucracy, Politics, and Public Policy*. Little, Brown and Company. Boston. 1984. pp.20-21.

[73] Rourke. *Bureaucracy, Politics, and Public Policy*. 1984. pp.20-21.

[74] James Q. Wilson. *Bureaucracy. What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It?* Basic Books, Inc. New York. 1989. p.27.

[75] Rourke. *Bureaucracy, Politics, and Public Policy*. 1984. pp.2,31.

[76] Rourke. *Bureaucracy, Politics, and Public Policy*. 1984. pp.39-40.

constituency to decisions made. Selective membership criteria are likely to result, and the activities and agenda of the movement actors become increasingly tailored to the requirements of the non-movement institutionalised actors to legitimise or otherwise enable their engagement. The institutionalised movement actor can, thus, be increasingly separated from the movement and its character controlled by the requirements of the institution(s) with which it engages. The divisions between the conservation movement organisations and other parts of the green movement in southeast Queensland are illustrative of this phenomenon.

In contrast, the aspirations and ideas of the participants in non-institutionalised movement actors make a much larger contribution to the issues and concerns than for participants in institutionalised movement actors. The social processes within non-institutionalised actors are comparatively more vulnerable to internal micro-factors, such as leadership issues, ideology, alignments with other social actors, and resource availability. One repercussion is that non-institutionalised actors are more likely to be *self-creating*: that is, the orientation of this actor is much more vulnerable to being shifted quite dramatically by internal social processes than the institutionalised movement actor. While leadership and use of symbols to create solidarity are important for all movements they have a particularly strong role in non-institutionalised actors. On the other hand, the lack of engagement with other institutionalised actors limits the capacity of the context to impact upon the non-institutionalised actor in comparison with the institutionalised. Thus non-institutional actors are considered to be comparatively more self-creating than institutionalised movement actors.

A corollary of the above proposals is that the meanings attributed by the actors to their activities is the determinant of whether they are engaging in conventional or anti-systemic dimensions, irrespective of the appearance. In both instances, attribution of conventional or anti-systemic interpretations to either institutionalised or non-institutionalised movements actors can only be done analytically, not empirically. At face value it may appear that institutionalised movement actors are necessarily conventional actors, as they are often characterised as engaging in conventional political strategies. However institutionalised movement actors may well be the bearers of anti-systemic orientations. These orientations may remain publicly unexpressed by the nature of the conventional activity, but nonetheless be the intentions of the participants. Non-institutionalised actors may also be conventional

or anti-systemic actors. Apparently conventional political activity engaged in by a non-institutionalised actor, such as demands about specific issues, cannot automatically be assumed to be conventional. These demands may represent, to those who articulate them, a criticism of the system.

In spite of the quite major distinctions between institutionalised and non-institutionalised movements actors in this thesis, there is often much cross participation between them by participants. Paradoxically, this cross-participation can be explained with reference to the separate historical development of the movements. The specific contexts with which movements engage in dialogue tempers to some extent what is articulated and how. Thus participants can be involved in more than one part of a movement, participating within the logic of each. Thus, in spite of otherwise major differentiation within movements on the basis of being an institutionalised or non-institutionalised actor, cross participation can bind it together.

Moreover, preparedness by participants to move between the seeming anti-systemic and conventional dimensions is common. For instance, from an anti-systemic perspective, specific issues may be considered symptomatic of the failures of the system. Therefore anti-systemic actors may be very flexible about the issues they promote. Slogans and issues can change as long as they are consistent with the central criticism(s) of the system:

> General value-references are usually associated with a focus on specific issues and problems. However, these specific problems are generalised in the context of movement orientations; they become examples, or cases of *more general* and more fundamental concerns. Therefore they can be changed and reshuffled without hindering the unity of movement events.[77]

In terms of the distinction made in this thesis between conventional and anti-systemic actors, anti-systemic actors may support conventional activity on specific issues, while at the same time condemning these conventional actors as part of the system. Pakulski refers to this characteristic of anti-systemic actors of colonising the campaigns and issues of other movements:

> MSMS [mass social movements] have a partly 'parasitic' character, in the sense of mobilising and drawing into their orbit the public and the resources of various groups

[77] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.61.

and organisations often only loosely connected with the core bodies.[78]

That is, anti-systemic actors may *appropriate* the issue and organisational momentum to re-articulate their concerns through this vehicle.

On the other hand, conventional actors may support anti-systemic activities as a means of engaging in conventional politics by unconventional means. Conventional actors tend to attempt alignments with others but will at least tentatively, if pragmatically, form alignments with anti-systemic actors, a precarious strategy. Thus the production of issues and concerns may also arise from, or be influenced by, these social processes.

These issues contribute to explaining the cross-participation between the various parts of the green movement in southeast Queensland, and the involvement of many participants in both conventional and anti-systemic activity at different times. These issues also highlight the *analytical* character of the distinction made between the alternative community, conservation, and political green movements.

**movement consolidation**

Following from the above discussion, another influence upon the production of issues and concerns, in addition to the identification of different processes associated with institutional and non-institutional movement actors, is movement consolidation factors. Movement consolidation refers to characteristic trends of movements including: growing density, referring to increasing overlap of participation through movement activities, social networks and organisations; crystallisation of an orientation, referring to a developing convergence of various movement constituents towards the same directionality and symbolic or sub-cultural means for expressing it; and accordingly, more coherent programs (although still not a political program such as organisations produce).[79]

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[78] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.44.

[79] Derived notion is derived from Pakulski's identification of three aspects of consolidation: structural, ideological, and cultural - Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.79-80.

The process of consolidation may develop from the accumulation of activities of the movement. However consolidation may also be a purposeful activity, guided by leadership intent upon enhancing the solidarity, extent of participation, and effectiveness of the movement. In both instances the role of leadership, symbols, and cultural practices reflecting a purported common platform or visions, are central to this endeavour.

Pakulski discusses various kinds of leadership, proposing that leaders are often instrumental in facilitating solidarity, as figures reflecting the values of the movement and representing large parts of it.[80] Facilitating the collective identity formation within the movement may attract participation from participants in other movements or the previously uninvolved. Leadership can also play a significant role in the identification of issues and concerns and the way they are articulated. For instance, leaders may promote platforms listing a range of concerns inclusive of a range of conventional and anti-systemic actors, or may even attempt to reconcile them. Leaders may also utilise popularly revered symbols to represent, and alter the meanings of prevailing issues, in the interests of increasing support for an issue. Differences can be glossed over in favour of a simple platform upon which many actors can agree. In relation to leadership, Pakulski refers to *ethos groups* as having an influential role in producing and popularising perspectives and concerns around which movement participants can mobilise. The ethos refers to "sets of general social, moral and aesthetic principles accentuated by movements."[81] The significance of ethos groups is apparent for mass movement building endeavours, such as those discussed in Chapters Five and Seven, with regard to what this thesis identifies as the social democratic and political green ethos groups.

The role of symbols is also important for movement consolidation. The content of symbols for creating solidarity are necessarily "unspecific, adversarial and critical, egalitarian and populist, highly visible and didactic, compact and non-discursive, unlike a political program".[82] Promotion of new social practices, referred to by Pakulski as the "symbolic sphere", refers to the development of "repertoires, symbols, icons", a counter-culture for

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[80] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.76.

[81] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.63.

[82] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.78-79.

articulating the anti-systemic orientation and promoting a collective identity.[83] As stated above, leaders may manipulate symbols to foster collective identity and movement consolidation.

These movement consolidation processes can, thus, substantially influence what issues are articulated by movements, and how. They constitute another social mediation of objective social conditions in addition to the other factors raised earlier. These issues are significant for the aims of this thesis, in that they identify movement characteristics of relevance to the green movement in southeast Queensland.

## EFFICACY OF MOVEMENTS

In this thesis, movements have been conceptualised as having a complex character, in relation to a range of facets including the plurality of dimensions, the complexity of social forms which constitute them, their geographical scope, and the interpenetration of movements. In considering how to assess the impact of movements, these characteristics have to be taken into account. This thesis, however, is primarily concerned with the impact of the anti-systemic dimension of movements. This thesis has based theorising about the impact of anti-systemic movements upon approaches by new social movement theorists, again with special reference to Melucci and Pakulski.

The new social movement theorists have quite different approaches to the theorisation of contemporary movements. Nonetheless, they do have some common ground with regard to the role these movements (may) play in social change. In particular, there is agreement that the contemporary movements endeavour to articulate new conflicts in contemporary society for which there is, as yet, no form of institutionalised expression. Pakulski states, for instance, that mass social movements:

> pave the way for social transformations mainly by *challenging and de-legitimising* established social orders, by 'loosening' the normative foundations of institutionalised patterns of conduct.[84]

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[83] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.78-79.

[84] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. pp.82-83.

This perspective is mirrored in Melucci's proposal that what he refers to as social movements are defined in terms of "a form of collective action ... carrying on a conflict ... [and] breaking the limits of the system in which action occurs",[85] while Offe views contemporary movements as "challenging institutional boundaries".[86] The perspective common to these theorists is that the anti-systemic component of movements has an indirect but fundamental role in social change, in signalling the presence of alternative world views - different ways of viewing issues and acting upon them.[87] In this sense, movements may play a role as cultural innovators.

However, there is no inevitability that these new expressions will result in social change. Movements can be successfully repressed, coopted through accommodation or social control, or simply fade away through lack of support.[88] Moreover the anti-systemic dimension of movements, by definition, is not expressed in conventional terms with the aim of finding a footing in the social order. They constitute a fundamental challenge to (some element of) the social order. According to Pakulski:

> The most effective and lasting change ... is produced by persisting mass movements - movements that co-exist with institutionalised conventional politics. They produce a tension which is a constant irritant, a source of conflict and innovation. Such innovation may be less radical and spectacular than the changes generated by rapidly mobilised and politicised revolutionary movements, but they seem to work better and to last longer.[89]

This view suggests that the impact of movements upon cultural change must occur at the level of cultural meanings, where problem definitions and solutions are subject to critique.

Moreover, for this critique to flourish, it must sufficiently engage with current cultural meanings to have relevance to a wider audience. This proposition is implied by Pakulski's observations on the contemporary movements: that the new mass movements promote values

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[85] Melucci. "The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements". 1985. p.795.

[86] Offe. "New social movements." 1985. pp.817-868.

[87] With respect to the new movements which emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, Hutton refers to "the new way of doing politics" - Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.160.

[88] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.80.

[89] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.83.

already present in society:

> Movements radically challenge social structures, but these challenges carry, at the same time, a heavy imprint of those very structures. Movements promote new social patterns, but the values, symbols and repertoires they mobilise are always embedded in established values, ideologies, cultures and traditions. They affect the established social institutions (mainly by undermining their legitimacy), but the impact of movements is always mediated through existing social configurations and patterns of conduct.[90]

Other theorists have also considered the agencies through which the cultural innovation may be expressed. Touraine, states that:

> In a society still in the process of formation, public causes initially take on the form of moral protests, of an appeal to principles or needs, to utopias. It is when they become more political, by seeking their way through the institutions, by joining up with other social forces and with representational agents, by showing active awareness of the general problems of society - particularly those of society's internal economic management and its international environment - that their social nature emerges.[91]

With these considerations in mind, this thesis has adapted an approach to movement efficacy, with reference to the anti-systemic dimension of contemporary movements. This approach allows for a means of assessing whether a movement has achieved to any extent, a bridge between the fundamental critique of the social order and the dominant discourse permeating dominant institutions and social practices. This bridge is referred to as *engagement.* Further to this, the approach adapted for this thesis assesses engagement in terms of the elements of innovation, containment, or accommodation which occurs. *Containment* refers to successful social control acting to contain the movement through direct repression or forms of institutional control such as co-option. This is particularly an issue for institutionalised movement actors, in that their anti-systemic agenda may not achieve public articulation (see above: Production of Issues and Concerns). *Accommodation* is a specific form of containment, in which the social order co-exists with the movement without losing any of its own legitimacy. This is particularly an issue for non-institutionalised actors that do not succeed in overcoming their marginalisation. *Innovation* refers to engagement in which the aims of the movement succeed in shifting the agenda or orientation of some part of the social order.

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[90] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.82.

[91] Touraine. *The Voice and the Eye*. 1981. p.23.

This approach does not lend itself to quantification, except insofar as the changing basis for public policy and changing approaches to social practices can be assessed. Nonetheless it is a useful indicative approach, in which the impact of the anti-systemic dimension of movements can be identified.

# Chapter Three

# THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT

This chapter is the first of three which identify the formation and characteristics of the environmental projects promoted by the green movement in southeast Queensland. These three chapters reflect the differentiation, proposed in the Introduction, between three qualitatively different components of the green movement. These components are the conservation, alternative community, and political green movements, which collectively comprise *the* green movement. These chapters show that the character of the environmental projects was largely determined by distinctive 'problem definitions' of the relationship between social and environmental outcomes by each of these movements. These chapters also show that the problem definitions of the various projects shared a common view that prevailing institutions were incapable of reconciling social and environmental outcomes.

Each of these chapters is shaped by theoretical considerations about how issues and concerns are produced by movements.[1] Accordingly, the early parts of these chapters address the formation of the problem definition attributed to the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes by these movements. Attention is given to the 'real versus ideal' perception by participants in the movements, and the associated directionality. The remainder of these chapters address the formation of the movement's orientations, focusing explicitly on environmental concerns.[2] A range of social conditions are considered, including relevent features of the political, institutional, and social context.

In accounting for the distinctive characteristics of the environmental projects, another major theoretical consideration involves the identification of each green movement as either an institutionalised or non-institutionalised actor.[3] This categorisation facilitates the explication

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[1] See Chapter Two: Production of Issues and Concerns.

[2] Refer to Chapter Two: Plurality of Dimensions to explain 'real versus ideal' and 'orientation'.

[3] Chapter Two: Production of Issues and Concerns.

of the links between directionality and orientation within the specific contexts of each movement. In this thesis, the conservation movement has been categorised as an institutionalised actor, as the movement consisted primarily of organisations engaged in conventional political practices. Analysis of the conservation movement therefore focuses upon the institutional context, the policy framework, and political context, to account for the characteristics of the associated environmental project. The alternative community and political green movements have been characterised as two distinct non-institutionalised actors, with quite different histories in spite of their common genesis in the contemporary counterculture. Analyses of these two movements prioritises movement self-creating factors for explaining the characteristics of their environmental projects, although not to the exclusion of the institutional and political context.

A final point to make about these three chapters concerns the notion of movements as actors, rather than simply as responses to objective events.[4] This point has implications for both the interpretation of movement source materials, as well as how the chapters are constructed. That is, these chapters are not concerned with the credibility of the environmental projects from a supposed objective viewpoint. Instead their purpose is to determine how, and on what basis, the green movement actors have developed a problem definition of the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes.

As the first of three chapters in Part B, this chapter investigates the preoccupation with the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes which was central to the conservation movement agenda for more than a decade. Before proceeding, it is worth considering the relationship of the conservation movement in southeast Queensland with the wider conservation movement throughout Queensland and Australia. The conservation movement in southeast Queensland is organisationally inseparable from the state-wide and national conservation movement. One factor which contributes to this lack of organisational separation is cross membership by participants in conservation organisations at local, state and federal levels. In addition, many organisations are member groups of coordinating conservation bodies, such as the Queensland Conservation Council. Therefore, in focusing

[4] See Chapter Two: Production of Issues and Concerns.

upon the geographic region of southeast Queensland as this thesis does, discussion about the conservation movement necessarily involves consideration of the state and national organisational framework. Accordingly, this chapter refers primarily to the conservation movement throughout Queensland, with examples drawn largely from southeast Queensland.

Another consideration for this chapter is the kind of source material used, and how it has been interpreted. Conservation organisation newsletters have been a valuable source of information. Newsletters used for this chapter include those produced by the Australian Conservation Foundation, the Wilderness Society, the Wildlife Preservation Society of Australia, and the Sunshine Coast Environmental Centre. Other sources for this chapter include submissions, letters and internal organisational documents, minutes, and policy papers. This material provides valuable background such as information about government reforms and legislation. More importantly, it provides perspectives from the point of view of the conservation movement about the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes, and how it should be addressed.

This thesis has relied substantially upon the newsletter and other materials produced by the Queensland Conservation Council. Most conservation organisations in Queensland were member groups of Queensland Conservation Council. Accordingly, the newsletter contains comprehensive reports and information about the campaigns and other activities in which the member groups, and the Queensland Conservation Council, were engaged. However, of more significance is the assumption made in this thesis that, as a coordinating body, the Queensland Conservation Council played a role in integrating and reconciling the interests and concerns of the member groups (and individual participants). In this sense the platforms proposed by the Queensland Conservation Council are interpreted as reasonably representative of the conservation movement in Queensland. However this assumption is tempered by the observation that the member groups retained their autonomy, and at times campaigned in cooperation with the Queensland Conservation Council and other conservation groups.[5]

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[5] For instance, Queensland Conservation Movement. *Time's Running Out. A Conservation Policy for Queensland*. Brisbane. 1986, and the joint submission by Queensland Conservation Council in conjunction with the member groups Australian Conservation Foundation, Australian Littoral Society, Fraser Island Defender's Organisation, Rainforest Conservation Society, and Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland, as the Joint

This chapter accounts for the problem definition of the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes produced by the conservation movement. It argues that the conservation movement construed this problem as one of a conflict between development and the preservation of the natural environment, initially in reaction to the development boom in the 1960s.[6] The chapter shows that the conservation movement engaged in conventional political practices to preserve specific natural regions from the 'encroachments' of development. Thus, this chapter argues that the political and institutional context in which the movement acted contributed substantially to the identification by the conservation movement of governmental institutional failure, referring to the perceived inability of the development and nature preservation concerns to be reconciled. Institutional reform for the achievement of reconciliation was, therefore, at the heart of the environmental project of the conservation movement.

The first part of this chapter demonstrates that the conflict began as public expression of concern about the destruction of the flora, fauna, and habitats, resulting from economic and urban developments of the 1960s boom and thereafter. The basis for this concern is attributed to an underlying substantively rational critique of the relationship between nature and society.[7] Material published by the conservation movement has been referred to for examples of this underlying critique. The chapter also shows that the expression of this discontent continued through the consolidation of the conservation movement into what this thesis has referred to as an institutionalised actor.

This chapter also discusses the continuing hostility of the pro-development Queensland Government to the nature preservation concerns of the conservation organisation. The impetus for its pro-development policy is attributed to the business-state nexus and the policies of the prevailing National Party Government. The continuing Government hostility

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Conservation Groups to the *1990 Commission of Inquiry into the Conservation, Management and Use of Fraser Island and the Great Sandy Region. Response to the initial Discussion Paper*. Brisbane. 1986.

[6] See Chapter One about the claim of this theis that a single project can be identified in spite of the otherwise spectrum of strands within the movement.

[7] This study had adopted West's distinction between conservationists and preservationists. Jonathon West. "Goals, strategy and structure: how the environment movement organised for victory in the 1980s". Ian Marsh. ed. *The Environmental Challenge*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1991. p.137.

is also explained in terms of the environmental policy framework. The chapter shows that the policy framework was shaped by a range of factors, the most important of which was the conflict between the pro-conservation and pro-development forces. Thus, this chapter argues that the political and institutional framework of the Queensland political system was the major contributing factor for the continuing polarisation of nature preservation demands and developmental priorities, with little means to reconcile them.

Lastly, this chapter shows that the conservation movement attempted to end the polarisation. Achieving 'ecologically sustainable development' required, firstly, the reconciliation of development and conservation outcomes; secondly, the implementation of institutional reforms for achieving the reconciliation; and thirdly, the replacement of the National Government with another more sympathetic to environmental issues on these terms. The program of the conservation organisations reflected these resolves with a range of administrative, legal and electoral reform demands. Their strategy involved cooperation with other movements, organisations, and political parties with apparently similar objectives.

## NATURE PRESERVATION

This section addresses the reasons for the escalation of public concern about the relationship between social and environmental outcomes in the late 1960s, in southeast Queensland. It shows that these concerns were initially generated in response to the environmental impact of human intervention upon previously undeveloped regions. This public concern in southeast Queensland was, however, part of a more wide-spread national groundswell of protest against the environmental impacts of the then prevailing forms of development. This section addresses the basis upon which these environmental impacts were posed as a problem, how this problem definition influenced strategies to deal with it, and the consequent formation of conservation organisations.[8]

[8] See Chapter Two: Production of Issues and Concerns.

**development as the precipitating factor**

The contemporary conservation movement began in Australia in the late 1960s at a time of increasingly apparent, and escalating, impacts of economic and urban development on the natural environment. These developments often brought about large-scale human interventions into previously undeveloped regions. The upsurge in economic activity was dominated by mineral extraction and tourism, and to a lesser extent timber extraction. The international minerals boom in the 1960s opened up to Australia new external markets for mineral sands and oil. The boom had particular significance for the Queensland economy. By 1974 Australia's eastern coastal region, and particularly the Queensland coastal regions and islands, became a major world supplier of mineral sands.[9] The Great Barrier Reef was thought to contain large oil reserves, and so oil exploration leases were approved by the Queensland Government over the 1960-70s.[10]

During this time the tourism industry was also beginning to boom, and it assumed an increasingly prominent position in the Queensland economy. Originally centred on the Gold Coast in the 1960s, tourism developments expanded to other regions along the coastal mainland and islands over the 1970-80s. The Sunshine Coast and Noosa in the southeast corner also became important tourism destinations, as did the northern regions around Cairns, and various islands including Hayman, Lindeman, Magnetic and Green Island. While tourism development took many forms, the dominant characteristics were determined by the preferences of the largely international clientele.[11] Overseas tourists were attracted to the Queensland climate, beaches, and hinterland forests. The resorts and amenities mostly sought by these tourists were large-scale luxury hotels, marinas, golf courses, as well as other

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[9] For industries such as, the manufacture of aircraft and marine engines, food processing equipment, pigments, colour television tubes, cigarette lighter fluids, and surgical instruments - see Elizabeth van Acker and Elizabeth Eddy. "The Moreton Island sand mining conflict: 1974-1990". Ken J. Walker. ed. *Australian Environmental Policy*. NSW University Press. Kensington, NSW. 1992. p.88.

[10] Alan Gilpin. *The Australian Environment. Twelve Controversial Issues*. Sun Books. Melbourne. 1980. pp.222-24.

[11] Van Fossen and Lafferty propose a typology of tourism destinations which corresponds to the extent of penetration of transnational capital - Anthony van Fossen and George Lafferty. "The political economy of paradise: tourism in tropical and sub-tropical oceania". Paper presented to the Defining Queensland Conference convened by the Queensland Studies Institute. Griffith University. December. 1993.

recreational and entertainment facilities.[12]

The mineral extraction and to a lesser extent, the tourism developments, were established in comparatively undeveloped and geographically remote regions. Thus, their environmental impacts were not readily accessible to public scrutiny. The *psychological* remoteness of these regions began to be diminished when the early conservation organisations drew attention to these developments and their impact upon the natural environments. However, *geographical* remoteness began to diminish as the increased rate of development increased brought it closer to populated areas, such as on the sand islands along the comparatively highly populated southeast coast.[13] In both instances, public awareness and capacity for scrutiny was enhanced, which contributed to an escalation in expressions of alarm about the environmental impacts.

Underlying concerns about the environmental impact of development was the recognition of a relationship between social and environmental outcomes. The alterations in the natural environment resulting from developments were considered unacceptable, in terms of destroying 'natural values' associated with flora, fauna, and habitats. The natural environment was, thus, to be 'protected' from what was considered to be the 'incursions' of human activity. The Australian Conservation Foundation was formed with this purpose:

> The ACF is a private, non-profit organisation dedicated to ensuring that the Australian country-side and its natural resources will not be despoiled by population and industrial pressure.[14]

This preoccupation with the protection of flora, fauna, and their habitats, was reflected in the title of the Australian Conservation Foundation publication, *Habitat*.

This particular perception of the relationship between social and environmental outcomes was the principal basis of concerns expressed by the conservation movement, since it emerged

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[12] Peter Spearritt. "The urban environment". Ian Marsh. ed. *The Environmental Challenge*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1991. pp.123-36.

[13] See van Acker and Eddy for a discussion of public protest about development on these islands - van Acker and Eddy. "The Moreton Island sand mining conflict". 1992. Also see Tor Hundloe. "The environment". Allen Patience. ed. *The Bjelke-Peterson Premiership 1968-1983*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1985. pp.89-92.

[14] Membership application form for Australian Conservation Foundation. Author's collection. [c.1967].

in the 1960s. In the mid-1960s (and slightly preceding the National Party Government under Bjelke-Peterson), there was a groundswell of demands for the protection of the Great Barrier Reef, first from limestone mining and then from oil drilling.[15] The preservation of the Cooloola beaches was another major conflict engaged in by the emerging conservation movement. The aim was to protect this region from sand mining. National park zonings were proposed by conservationists to protect these areas. In relation to the case for zoning Fraser Island as a national park in the mid-1970s, a submission from the Australian Conservation Foundation stated that the primary concern of national parks should be to:

> conserve their natural condition and provide opportunities for appropriate forms of recreation, education and science. It is generally accepted that the aim of long term conservation is to have priority over use.[16]

The proposed development of Cape York also generated much public contention. In the late 1970s, the National Party Government proposed declaring Cape York a "wilderness and wildlife area". Interestingly, this proposal was met with consternation from the conservation movement rather than enthusiasm. According to the conservation movement, this region did not qualify as wilderness. Debates about wilderness relied on definitions concerning the extent to which the region had been affected by human intervention:

> Most conservationists would agree that ... [a wilderness area] ... is a large tract of country that has been subjected to minimal human disturbance and where plant and animal communities are essentially in a natural condition. Thus, within a wilderness area, uses such as mining, grazing, timber extraction and urban development would not be considered compatible ... Under such criteria, the whole of Cape York is not in a suitable condition to be classified as wilderness.[17]

Three areas were seen, however, as fitting the wilderness criteria - the Jardine River area, eastern Cape York Peninsular and the Upper Daintree River-Mount Windsor Tableland area.[18] Consequently, a road proposal for this part of Cape York was criticised for being a desecration of a wilderness area:

> One of the most important wilderness areas in Australia, the Daintree-Cooktown

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[15] Hundloe. "The environment". 1985. pp.81-2.

[16] Australian Conservation Foundation. *Australian Conservation Foundation Submission to the Fraser Island Environmental Inquiry*. 11 June. 1975.

[17] Liz Bourne. "Wilderness on Cape York". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. June. 1980. p.1.

[18] Bourne. "Wilderness on Cape York". 1980. p.1.

> region, is threatened by a recent road gazettal ... the Daintree lowland coastal rainforest must be preserved at all costs.[19]

In the southeast corner of Queensland, public concern about the environmental impact of mining and logging on Fraser, Moreton, and North Stradbroke Islands began to be voiced in the late 1960s.[20] Fraser Island was the initial target for protection from development. Its proposed protection was defended on the grounds of its being the largest sand island in the world. There were demands to have it zoned as a National Park. A similar case was made for Moreton Island which was also under threat from development:

> The value of Moreton Island lies in the fact that it is situated within 20 miles of a city of 1 million people, coupled with its untouched beauty. This accessibility makes it almost unique as a recreational and wilderness resource.[21]

Conservation issues raised about the Conondale Ranges focused upon its 'natural values', with reference to:

> the finest remaining stands of natural forest in Queensland ... and some of the rarest and most spectacular forms of Australian wildlife have been found in the area ... the area is under threat of destruction by intensive forestry activities.[22]

Moreover, the environmental impacts of economic development were increasingly noted in the urbanised regions. In the 1960s, Queensland's population was less concentrated than in other states, as the major Queensland cities contained a comparatively smaller proportion of the population. Pockets of urbanisation had developed along the coast for servicing the raw materials export industries which had dominated the Queensland economy. These urbanised coastal areas provided business and commercial centres, as well as transport and port facilities. As economic development flourished, so did many of these urbanised areas, bringing increased populations, provision of urban amenities such as transport infrastructure, power and water supply services, and clearing of land for housing and other urban-related developments.

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[19] "Cape York desecration." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. September/October. 1978. p.8.

[20] Van Acker and Eddy. "The Moreton Island sand mining conflict". 1992 and Hundloe. "The environment". 1985. pp.89-92.

[21] "Moreton Island." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. April. 1978. p.5.

[22] *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. June. 1977. p.11.

The southeast corner was continuously the most highly urbanised region of Queensland, notably around Brisbane and Ipswich. While geographical remoteness had minimised its' role in shipping and related services, this region nonetheless provided the administrative support for the economic activities of the state.[23] Mullins attributes the massive rise in urbanisation in the southeast corner of the state in the 1970s to three factors: an increase in the tourism industry, investment in land and related capital, and the mining boom.[24] Projections of population growth for the 1980s proposed that Queensland, along with Western Australia, would grow faster than other states, mainly through domestic migration. The Brisbane-Gold Coast and Brisbane-Sunshine Coasts regions were signalled as the two fastest growing regions in Australia.[25]

Urban changes arising from rapid urban expansion in Brisbane and the regional centres received much public criticism on nature conservation grounds. For instance, high-rise developments at the Sunshine and Gold Coasts were criticised for the ensuing destruction of beaches and fore-dunes. During the late 1970s, urban dissent issues had expanded to also include others such as social amenity and recreation. The draining of wetlands and mangroves for canal developments were opposed, as was disturbance of the foreshore dunes.[26] On the Gold Coast several conservation organisations formed to express concerns about the repercussions arising from the otherwise flourishing tourism industry. Criticism focused upon the construction of high-rise buildings, artificial waterways, sewage disposal, and public space issues. One organisation, the Gold Coast and Hinterland Wildlife Preservation Society:

> long ago recognised that the best way to protect wildlife was to protect habitats. Consequently, the Society is constantly pressing for new nature reserves and better

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[23] Glen Lewis. "Queensland nationalism and Australian capitalism". E.L. Wheelwright and Ken Buckley. eds. *Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism*. volume 2. Australian and New Zealand Book Co. Sydney. 1978. pp.115-118.

[24] Patrick Mullins. "Australia's sunbelt migration: the recent growth of Brisbane and the Moreton Bay region". *Journal of Australian Political Economy*. no.5. 1979. pp.26-27.

[25] Population Issues Committee. *Population Issues and Australia's Future*. Australian Government Publishing Service. ACT. 1992.

[26] Richard Giles. "Sunshine Coast local government policy". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.1. no.2. 1980. p.2, and Spearritt."The urban environment". 1991. pp.123-36.

management of existing reserves.[27]

In Brisbane, campaigns emerged to oppose developments which infringed upon flora, fauna, and habitats. For example, the Brisbane City Council's plan to develop the Boondall wetlands was criticised for destroying an area of natural value.[28] During the 1970-80s, the Queensland Conservation Council provided most of the co-ordination and liaison for Brisbane and environmental urban groups.[29]

**moral protest against the impact of development**

The preceding discussion has shown that the early conservation campaigns endeavoured to protect the wilderness from human incursions. This focus on *wilderness* in part reflected the objective characteristics of many of the regions for which protection was sought. For instance, until it was flooded in the late 1970s, Lake Pedder in Tasmania was a virtual wilderness. The early campaigns in Queensland also endeavoured to protect virtual wilderness areas such as the Cooloola beaches and Fraser Island.

Campaigns generally drew attention to the presence and beauty of wilderness, often through the production and circulation of images of wilderness areas in risk of being affected by human intervention. 'Good television' was achieved through media attention which showed images of the areas under threat.[30] Campaign materials included the sale of commercial products such as calenders and posters which depicted wilderness scenes. Sales outlets were organised to facilitate their sale and provide information.[31] A particularly effective wilderness image was one used to defend the Franklin River from being flooded by the

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[27] "Gold Coast and Hinterland Wildlife Preservation Society. Gold Coast and Albert Shire". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.1. no.2. 1980. p.8.

[28] "Boondall wetlands under siege". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol 6. no.6. 1985. pp.4-6.

[29] Queensland Conservation Council was interested in seeing the establishment of a separate organisation for specifically urban issues in the interest of reducing their own work load - Liz Bourne. "Editorial". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.7. no.3. 1986. p.1.

[30] West. "Goals, strategy and structure". 1991. p.143.

[31] In Brisbane there was the Billabong Bookshop which was the commercial outlet for Queensland Conservation Council, and the Wilderness Shop organised by the Wilderness Society, which opened in the 1980s.

Tasmanian Government. This consisted of a full page photograph paid for by the Wilderness Society, depicting Rock Island Bend in the mist. Underneath the photograph was the caption, "could you vote for a party that would destroy this?".[32]

The campaign focus of the (national and Queensland) contemporary conservation movement on wilderness in the 1960s represented the endeavour to protect the natural environment from human incursion. As recently as 1986, this perspective was reaffirmed by a strategy paper produced by the Queensland conservation movements. This paper states that:

> Queensland contains a rich, diverse and beautiful environmental heritage. This environmental heritage should be viewed, not just as a gift from previous generations, but as a unique heritage held in trust for the future ... The purpose of nature conservation is to ensure the conservation of Queensland's diverse native animals, plants, and samples of our natural environments.[33]

Interestingly, a substantial amount of the support for the campaigns was given by people who had not necessarily been directly affected by the environmental impacts upon the threatened regions, and usually lived at great geographical distances from them. For instance, the campaign to prevent the damming of the Franklin River mobilised tens of thousands of people from all around Australia. Thousands went to Tasmania to support the campaign in the summer of 1982-83.[34] The Queensland Conservation Council remained preoccupied with these geographically distant regions. In the 1980s the Queensland Conservation Council signalled their desire to off-load Brisbane and environs issues, in order to keep focused upon state-wide issues.[35] To some extent this support can be attributed to the success of the campaigns run by the conservation organisations. However this does not explain the propensity of a large segment of the public to respond favourably to the campaigns.

The preoccupation with wilderness and the endeavour to preserve it from human incursions has been noted in other studies of the conservational and environment movements in

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[32] West. "Goals, strategy and structure". 1991. p.144 - the photo was by Peter Dombrovski.

[33] Queensland Conservation Movement/Queensland Conservation Council. *A Policy for the Adoption of Sound Conservation Initiatives in Queensland*. Brisbane. 1986.

[34] West. "Goals, strategy and structure". 1991. p.150.

[35] Bourne. "Editorial." 1986. p.1.

Australia.[36] Two factors have been identified for explaining the value attributed to wilderness, linking elements of the earlier conservation movement around the turn of the previous century with the contemporary one. The first factor concerns the value attributed to the uniquely *Australian* wilderness, fuelled by nationalist concerns in both those time frames. The early conservation movement reflected the emergent Australian nationalism, after more than a century of European occupation of Australia. This nationalism expressed a respect for all that was uniquely Australian, and the desire to develop an Australian identity distinct from the homeland of the European occupiers.[37] In the 1960s, the emergence of the contemporary conservation (1960s) movement coincided with a resurgence of nationalism, as foreign investment and political sovereignty issues became prominent on the public agenda. Thus value of the unique wilderness of Australia was reaffirmed.

Another more significant factor was, however, the perception of the displacement of a pristine nature by human intervention. In the colonial context, development took rapid place on land seemingly untouched by human activity. There were various perceptions of this activity, reflecting different notions of the relationship between society and the natural environment. One perception was that nature was available for human exploitation. This view was the legal justification for the European occupying forces to take over land occupied by the indigenous populations. The legal basis for establishing ownership of this new land was based on the evidence of 'improvements', such as housing structures or economic-related developments. Thus, on a moral and legal basis, this 'deserted' land was thus considered available for development.[38]

However, there were critics of the wholesale land clearing and related developments in the

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[36] For example, Papadakis, West and Hutton refer to this phenomenon - see Elim Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment: the Australian Experience*. Allen and Unwin. St. Leonards, NSW. 1993, West. "Goals, strategy and structure". 1991, and Drew Hutton. "From the moral high ground to political power: environmental ethics and green politics". *Social Alternatives*. vol.11. no.3. pp.13-16.

[37] Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. p.46 and West. "Goals, strategy and structure". 1991. pp.137-140.

[38] The land was not 'untouched': Aboriginal people had intentionally modified the environment in many ways, including fire breaks to improve pasture for the animals used as a food source, as many people had noted even at that time. See Henry Reynolds. *Dispossession*. Allen and Unwin: Sydney. 1989. pp.68-74, and Elim Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. pp.47-48.

early conservation movement. One of the several strands in this movement promoted a more prudent approach to exploitation of the natural environment. For instance, hunting and shooting societies wanted to maintain stock through conservation regulatory practices.[39] Ironically, this strand of the conservation movement reinforced the notion of the *use-value* of nature, that it was available for human exploitation. However, another strand of the early conservation movement viewed the impact of development on the seemingly untouched land as the destruction of the *intrinsic value* of the environment. Accordingly, human intervention or modification was interpreted as destroying what was worthwhile about the wilderness:

> [I]s the appropriate metaphor for wilderness a wasteland for human exploitation, or is it rather to be conceived as an island amidst an ever-encroaching sea of human activity?[40]

This notion of intrinsic value indicates the presence of underlying tensions in western society about the relationship between society and the natural environment.

According to Munro-Clarke, the preoccupation with the intrinsic value of nature has been present in western culture for more than 200 years, contrasting the 'unnatural' social world with the 'natural' environment. Withdrawal into nature was seen as a means for escaping the "deforming pressures" of the social world, to recover "spiritual wholeness or personal authenticity".[41] Papadakis claims that the conflict between what he refers to as "romanticism and rationalism" has been endemic to western culture for hundreds of years.[42] This notion of the intrinsic value of nature expressed a moral protest against the rationalism of instrumentalism, such as improvement, which dominated society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This moral protest intensified during the upsurge of development in the 1960s in Queensland, in which previously undeveloped regions were made available for development. Thus the major continuity between the earlier and contemporary conservation

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[39] Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. pp.58-69.

[40] Ian Marsh. "Introduction". Ian Marsh. ed. *The Environmental Challenge*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1991. p.xii.

[41] Margaret Munro-Clarke. "Modernity, individualism and the impulse to withdraw". Margaret Munro-Clarke. ed. *Communes in Rural Australia. The Movement Since 1970*. Hale and Ironmonger. Sydney. 1984. p.43. Also see John Docker. "'Those halcyon days': the moment of the New Left". Brian Head and James Walters. eds. *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*. Oxford University Press: Melbourne. 1988. p.297.

[42] Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. pp.59-60.

movements was the reverence for nature on the basis of the desire to preserve wilderness from human incursions.

A factor which distinguishes the early from the contemporary conservation movements is that the contemporary movement emerged at a time when there was much conjecture about the apparent finiteness of nature, that the ecological base for sustaining life on the planet was under threat. Within this context, the intrinsic value of nature also became linked to the crisis in industrialised society, and the incapacity of current forms of industrialism to maintain conditions for life.[43] The otherwise consistent focus on nature preservation issues obscured a range of different priorities and ideological strands within the conservation movement.[44] Nonetheless, this approach in all its diversity constitutes a moral protest against the instrumentalism of industrial society, in terms of the neglect of intrinsic value of nature as well as the threat to the ecological base of the planet.

Wilderness was an important issue for the conservation movement, as a literal issue of concern. However, it also had a metaphorical meaning with regard to the intrinsic value of the (non-human) natural environment, specifically flora, fauna, and habitats. Therefore wilderness preservation was an expression of moral protest against human incursions into pristine nature. In this thesis, the term *nature preservation* has been used to refer to this moral protest. It reflects West's distinction between nature preservation and conservation.[45]

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[43] Many commentators followed the initiative of the 1965 Ecological Society motion, including, Barry Commoner. *The Closing Circle*. Cape. London. 1972, Paul Ehrlich and Anne Ehrlich. *Population, Resources, Environment: Issues in Human Ecology*. W.H.Freeman. San Francisco. 1970, E.J. Mishan. *The Costs of Economic Growth*. Staples Press. London. 1967, Herman E. Daley. *Towards a Steady-State Economy*. W.H.Freeman. San Francisco. 1973, Fred Hirsch. *Social Limits to Growth*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge Massachussetts. 1976, Denis C. Pirages and Paul Ehrlich. *Ark II. Social Response to Environmental Imperatives*. W.H.Freeman. San Francisco., Meadows, D.H. et al. 1972. *Limits to Growth. A Report for the Club of Rome. A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind*. Universe Books. London. 1974: some argued that limits to nature hindered growth, others that growth destroyed nature.

[44] As noted in Chapter One, Doyle has categorised the conservation movement more broadly than this theis has done. Nonetheless he quite accurately points out divisions within the Queensland conservation movement about goals, purposes and ideological bases - T.J. Doyle. "The myth of the common goal: the conservation movement in Queensland". *Social Alternatives*. vol.6, no.4. 1987. pp.33-36. Papadakis also refers to various strands within the Australia environmental movement - Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. p.46. This study is, however, specifically concerned with how the problems of the apparently causal relationship between social and environmental outcomes was posed.

[45] West draws attention to the distinction between conservation and preservation: of husbandry versus 'sacred value' of wilderness - West. "Goals, strategy and structure". 1991. p.137.

The preoccupation with nature preservation became expressed organisationally through the new conservation movement.

**consolidation of the new conservation movement**

The Queensland conservation movement formed from the proliferation of new voluntary organisations and campaigns which arose in the 1960s and onwards to protect the threatened areas of the natural environment from development. This rise emergence of these groups constituted a new wave of the conservation movement throughout Australia. The contemporary movement differed in many ways from the earlier "outdoor recreation and bush-walking clubs" of the earlier movement.[46] In the 1965 the Australian Conservation Foundation was formed, and began focusing public attention upon many development issues.[47] It remained the major national level conservation organisation, establishing branches in all states throughout Australia.[48] Local and state conservation organisations also flourished. Between 1967 and 1971 new state based conservation organisations were established, including the Western Australian Conservation Council in 1967, the Tasmania Conservation Trust in 1968, the New South Wales Nature Conservation Council in 1955, in 1970 the Victorian Conservation Council and in 1972 the South Australian Conservation Council. In addition, a plethora of city and regional environment centres were established, concerned with "community education, providing libraries and other information resources, meeting rooms and other facilities for often-poor voluntary groups".[49] In 1969 the South East Queensland Conservation Council was established to provide a mechanism for regional coordination of groups that were involved in conservation issues. Full membership was awarded to member bodies, whilst individuals could join as associate members. By 1971 it had attracted membership of about 60 groups from around the state, and thus the name was

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[46] West. "Goals, strategy and structure". 1991. p.148.

[47] Its formation was to some extent precipitated by the recognition that there was no appropriate organisation in Australia to accept the invitation given by the Duke of Edinburgh, for an Australian organisation be accepted as a contributing member to the World Wildlife Fund. F.N. Ratcliffe. "The foundation, present and future." *Caring for Queensland*. Papers from a symposium organised by Australian Conservation Foundation at University of Queensland, Brisbane. 14-15 October. 1967.

[48] West. "Goals, strategy and structure". 1991. pp.147-48.

[49] West. "Goals, strategy and structure". 1991. p.149.

changed to the Queensland Conservation Council.[50]

Some federal funding had been made available to the Australian Conservation Foundation in the mid-1960s. However, the formation and effectiveness of the coordinating organisations throughout Australia was enhanced in 1974 by increased funding provisions by the new Whitlam Federal Labor Government. This Government implemented some of the recommendations of the 1973 Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate in 1973. It introduced several assistance programs, providing funding for National Estate Program, National Trusts, and Technical Assistance Program. Funding for voluntary conservation organisations, in addition to Australian Conservation Foundation, was also introduced.[51] The increased funding provisions followed the public controversy over the flooding of Lake Pedder by the Tasmanian Government. The aim of the funding was to facilitate public participation in decision-making about major resource development projects, when it was deemed to be in the public interest.[52]

The Queensland conservation organisations initially received a disproportionate amount of federal funding, reflecting the numbers of conservation conflicts being generated by the mining and tourism boom. The Federal Government directly funded five Queensland regional environmental councils as well as the Queensland Conservation Council, National Parks Association, Wilderness Preservation Society of Queensland, and Rainforest Conservation Society. Queensland had the most developed regional networks, to some extent because of geographical considerations, but also because of the scope of economic development projects under way.[53]

The Queensland Conservation Council remained a significant organising body for the Queensland conservation movement. By 1985 the Queensland Conservation Council had 43

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[50] Hundloe. "The environment". 1985. p.83.

[51] T.J. Doyle. *The Queensland Conservation Council. A Case-Study of Formalised, Inter-Organisational Relationships in the Queensland Conservation Movement.* Australian Environmental Studies Working Paper 1/86, School of Environmental Studies, Griffith University. 1986. pp.22-26.

[52] Gilpin. *The Australian Environment.* 1980. pp.209-210.

[53] Doyle. *The Queensland Conservation Council.* 1986. pp.22-26.

full member organisations, including representation from the five regional environmental councils: Sunshine Coast in Nambour, Wide Bay Burnett Region, Rockhampton, Townsville, and Cairns. Membership also included five other state-wide organisations: Queensland Council of Garden Clubs, Queensland Federation of Bushwalking Clubs, Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland, the Queensland branch of Australian Underwater Federation, and Australian Littoral Society. In addition, environment centres opened in Cairns, Townsville, Mackay, Rockhampton, Nambour, Brisbane, Toowoomba, Whitsunday, and the Gold Coast. Their formation was encouraged by the Queensland Conservation Council, although they initiated and organised autonomously within the regions. In spite of its original purpose as a coordinating body, the Queensland Conservation Council increasingly functioned as an autonomous regional environment centre for southeast Queensland.[54]

There were many multiple memberships in conservation organisations, reflecting the division of organisations into issue areas and regions.[55] In the late 1980s, the major conservation organisations had the following membership: the Queensland Conservation Council had 65 member bodies and 600 individual members, the Queensland branch of the Australian Conservation Foundation about 1900 members, Australian Littoral Society about 500, Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland about 1,000 members spread through 23 Queensland branches, Rainforest Conservation Society about 1,000, and World Wildlife Fund about 5,000 members in Queensland.[56] The Sunshine Coast Environment Centre (changed to Sunshine Coast Environmental Council Inc. in the early 1990s) had 42 member groups and several hundred individual members.[57] Many of these participants were also members of other organisations, and many regional organisations and groups have not been included here. These figures indicate the enormous public support given to the conservation movement.

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[54] Doyle. *The Queensland Conservation Council*. 1986. p.9.

[55] In his study of the Queensland Conservation movement, Doyle has documented this cross participation - T.J. Doyle. "The 'structure' of the conservation movement in Queensland". *Social Alternatives*. vol.5. no.2. 1986. pp.27-32, and T.J. Doyle. "The myth of the common goal: the conservation movement in Queensland". *Social Alternatives*. vol.6. no.4. 1987. pp.33-36.

[56] Kay Dibben. "How to join the Green Challenge". *Sunshine Coast Daily*. 15 October 1989. pp.26-27.

[57] Letter to Acting Commissioner, Electricity Commission, from Sunshine Coast Environmental Council. Author's collection. Dated 22 October 1991.

By early 1990 there were more than 70 conservation groups throughout Queensland, mostly in the regional towns and Brisbane. State-wide organisations included the Queensland Conservation Council, Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland, Australian Littoral Society, National Parks Association of Queensland, Wilderness Society, Australian Conservation Foundation, Rainforest Conservation Society, and Australian Whale Conservation Society. The Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland had 14 branches throughout Queensland, and there were Environment Centres in Cairns, Townsville, Mackay, Rockhampton, Sunshine Coast, Brisbane, and Gold Coast.[58] New organisations had emerged in the 1980s, including the Rainforest Conservation Society, the Wilderness Society and Rainforest Action Group. The Wilderness Society resulted from the organisational network established nation-wide in the early 1980s to support the anti-damming campaign in Tasmania.[59]

According to Hundloe, the early experiences of the conservation movement in Queensland, particularly the Great Barrier Reef and Cooloola conflicts, contributed to the development of a pragmatic approach to campaigning:

> These initial battles helped to change the nature of the conservation movement. It was forced to give more attention to the methods of decision-making in society. The conservationists learnt that if they were to protect a certain natural attribute they had to understand how governments behaved, who made the ultimate decisions, and what were the important criteria for decision-makers.[60]

In 1977, for instance, the Queensland Conservation Council organised the Working with Decision-Makers Conference. The aim was to "get conservationists and decision-makers

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[58] *Major conservation organisations in Queensland*. February. [information paper of the Queensland Conservation Council] Author's collection. 1990.

[59] The Rainforest Action Group and the Wilderness Society were new organisations, and with direct action backgrounds. The Rainforest Action Group was formed from the earlier Nomadic Action Group. The people involved in these groups were committed to direct action, such as occupying sites threatened by development, rather than working through formal political processes. The Wilderness Society was formed as an on-going national organisation as the Taswilderness campaign drew to a close. Its genesis in the activism surrounding the campaign to prevent the flooding of the Franklin River encouraged a more radical organisational ethos than earlier major conservation groups. All these organisations were strongly committed to democratic participatory decision-making, in contrast to the more hierarchical processes of the established organisations. Nonetheless when they became in conventional politics in the late 1980s and early 1990s, these differences became of less significance.

[60] Hundloe. "The environment". 1985. p.84.

together to discuss environmental issues at local, state and federal levels."[61] This pragmatic approach in turn contributed to the consolidation of the conservation movement as a plethora of organisations which engaged in conventional political activities to pursue their otherwise anti-systemic aims. The remainder of this chapter demonstrates that the orientation to emerge from this public concern about nature preservation, that is, the specific expression of the anti-systemic concerns, was shaped largely by the political and institutional context encountered by the conservation movement.

## DEVELOPMENT VERSUS NATURE PRESERVATION

The above section has outlined the problem definition espoused by the conservation movement. That is, the environmental impact of development on previously undeveloped areas was construed as the incursion of human activity into the natural environment. It has also shown that a series of organisations were formed by conservationists to oppose unwelcome developments in the interests of nature preservation. This thesis characterises the conservation movement as an institutionalised actor, with reference to the strategy to utilise the prevailing political and institutional framework in the interests of promoting nature preservation. While specific conservation movement leaders have stood out in terms of their dedication and contribution to the movements aims, this thesis argues that a more significant determinant for explaining the agenda and direction of the conservation group is its character as an institutionalised movement actor. This section examines, therefore, the political and institutional context in which the conservation movement operated. Specifically, this section addresses the reasons behind government opposition to conservation demands, with reference to the environmental policy framework and political economy of Queensland. It shows that these factors were largely responsible for the continuing conflict over the two seemingly irreconcilable objectives of development and nature preservation.

### Queensland environmental policy framework

One avenue utilised by the conservation movement for pursuing its nature preservation goals

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[61] It was held at a resort in Hervey Bay -" Working with Decision-Makers Conference. April 1-3". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. February. 1977. u.p.

was through appealing to environment protection policies. Constitutionally it was the province of states to legislate for environmental policy, as a residual power. The states have endeavoured to retain this power, as maintaining economic autonomy has been dependent to some degree on maintaining control over environmental policy. This is particularly the case for natural resource based state-economies such as Queensland.[62] However, the Queensland environmental policy framework provided for only a narrow conception of environmental protection. This conception relied principally upon adversarial frameworks which have dominated conservation conflicts in Queensland and throughout Australia.

In Queensland, there have been three phases of conservation and environmental protection at the state government level, concomitant with what Fitzgerald refers to as the "frontier mentality" of rampant natural resources extraction.[63] The first phase predates 1963, which was a period of large-scale land-clearing and quarrying. These developments were facilitated by Queensland government policies, such as selling land cheaply to developers, and placing riders on land leases which stipulated land clearing. Public dissent about the destruction of the natural environment was expressed as demands for national park zoning for protecting specific regions. This zoning was easily overturned and therefore not very satisfactory as a form of environmental protection.[64] The second and third stages of environmental policy reforms however, were characterised by attempts by the conservation movement to gain access to information about major development proposals, and the Government intention to prevent them from doing so.[65]

The second stage began in 1963, characterised by some institutional reforms for

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[62] John Formby. "Environmental policies in Australia - climbing the down escalator". Chris C. Park. ed. *Environmental Policies: An International Review*. Croom Helm. Sydney. 1986. pp.187-89.

[63] Ross Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s. A History of Queensland*. University of Queensland Press. St. Lucia. 1984. pp.388-89. This interpretation is similar to Marshall's notion of the 'organised savagery of the settlers,' noted in Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. p.55.

[64] Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*. 1984. pp.388-89.

[65] This issue is discussed in Liz Bourne. "Public participation". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. July. 1980. p.6.

administering environmental policy.[66] These reforms resulted from public dissent about the developmental impacts upon the Cooloola National Park and the Great Barrier Reef. An aim of public dissent was to open up major development proposals to public scrutiny, and allow for more accountability of the government. The conservation organisations were quick to seize the opportunity these reforms seemed to create, as new proposed developments were also claiming their attention. These developments included the Iwasaki resort, and sand mining leases on Fraser and Moreton Island, the Aurukun and Mornington Island Reserves. However, the reforms facilitated the continued concealment of government policy, or only nominally satisfied public demand for more control over major development decisions.[67] Those who sought more government accountability over development decisions recognised their limitations. Therefore, these mechanism were not successful in eliminating public conflict. Nonetheless, these reforms established some formal mechanisms for hearing complaints about development proposals.

A phase of retraction of even these limited reforms began in 1978, when opportunities to appeal to the state government against developments were reduced.[68] The National Party Government remained committed to its development priorities, and to quelling social discontent about the environmental impacts. Thus began the third phase of environmental policy, which involved the removal of decisions about major development projects from public scrutiny. For instance, responsibility for Environmental Impact Statements was shifted from one to several departments. This reform increased the work load of the complainants as well as rendering more difficult Federal Government involvement through High Court decisions. In 1979, there was an amendment to the Queensland Mines Act which eroded the right to object to projects. Meanwhile Queensland still had no Department of Environment although it had 61 statutes on environment and conservation issues. Another policy change allowed for by-passing the Queensland Parliament on a range of development issues. In 1981, the State Development and Public Works Organisation Amendment Act was passed. This legislation gave the Queensland Cabinet the right to authorise major developments without

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[66] Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*. 1984. pp.388-90.

[67] Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*. 1984. pp.388-94.

[68] Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*. 1984. pp.388-94.

requiring Parliamentary review or approval,[69] referring for example to coal mines, aluminium smelters, and coke works. This legislation drastically reduced the capacity for the public and disgruntled conservationists to scrutinise development proposals.

Meanwhile, public participation was promoted by the conservation organisations:

> Local community involvement and consultation and other forms of public participation, decision making and management are valuable means of testing and integrating economic, social and ecological objectives. They also provide a safeguard against poorly considered decisions and are an indispensable means of educating both the public about the importance and problems of conservation, and policy makers, planners and managers in the concerns of the public. Participation tends to build public confidence and improve the public's understanding of management objectives. It provides additional data for planners and policy makers ... Ideally, however, public participation should be at all stages of the development process, from policy making to project formulation and review. ... [T]he public should be given time and information sufficient for it to influence decisions.[70]

The extent of public scrutiny demanded by the conservation movement was not achieved: the reforms continued to circumvent them. However achievement of the sought reforms would not have altered the win-lose character of environmental conflict. It could only alter the timing of discontent - either prior to proposals being approved or after they had been begun. There were no institutionalised means to reconcile the conflicting priorities of conservation and development. Therefore conservation concerns remained mutually exclusive to development ones: demands for nature preservation continued to be voiced as opposition to development. These reforms were buttressed by politically repressive measures to minimise the public expression of conflict about development issues and related environmental concerns.

In addition to demands upon the Queensland Government, local governments were also targets for conservation movement campaigns. Local governments historically had a small role, primarily in providing services and controlling land use. This limited role originated in the colonial era as a means of extending state government administration into remote areas. Their main purpose was "the provision of roads, means of crossing rivers, and the

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[69] Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*. 1984. p.395.

[70] Liz Bourne. "Public participation". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. July. 1980. p.6.

provision of wharves and jetties".[71] The territory based emphasis remained focused on the provision of property services to the exclusion of social services or environmental protection, both of which remained the province of the state (and federal) government.[72] Thus, land-use planning was established as the primary policy mechanism for the regulation of urban and economic development, through zoning regulations and the permit system. For the conservation movement, these town planning regulations were an important avenue for promoting nature conservation objectives:

> Sooner or later, every conservationist will come up against Town Planning Laws. It is these laws that largely dictate how and where small and medium scale development will take place within a city, town or shire. In addition, under existing conditions in Queensland, town planning laws provide most of what few opportunities there are for direct public participation in decision-making. Their judicious use can have a significant bearing on the outcome of an environmental issue.[73]

Land zoning conflicts abounded, with the conservation movement using the zoning and permit system as a de facto means of environmental policy. It was de facto in that the local government regulations were established for reasons other than environmental protection. However, targeting local government zoning regulations for achieving nature preservation outcomes was not often effective. Therefore, the conservation movement ran campaigns advocating local government reform.[74] Where lobbying and dissent failed, electoral strategies were tried, as local government was electorally accountable. Electoral vulnerability allowed at times for successful outcomes for the conservation movement.[75] There was

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[71] Colin Balmer. "Local government in the federal system." *Australian Local Government Handbook*. Australian Government Publishing Service. 1989. p.1.

[72] For example, drainage, sewerage, building inspection, provision of clean water, public transport, gas and electricity supply. Many of these regulation areas were later removed and given to state statutory bodies - Colin Balmer. "Local government in the federal system." 1989. pp.2-3.

[73] Adrian Jeffreys. "Town planning for the conservationist". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. March. vol.3. no.2. 1982. pp.6-7 - an article teaching conservationists about how to campaign around local government issues.

[74] See Grahame Wells. "Focus on town planning". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.3. no.2. 1982. p.1 - this article contains reports from several conservation groups about their problems with various local governments such as the Sunshine Coast, Redland, Gold Coast and Albert shires. Also see "Appeal rights still threatened". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.6. no.4. 1985. pp.1-2.

[75] See van Acker and Eddy for the back-down by the Brisbane City Council when the public protested about their zoning plans for Moreton Island - van Acker and Eddy. "The Moreton Island sand mining conflict". 1992. Also see "Focus on Town Planning". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.3. no.2. 1982. pp.1-8 for discussion about conservation and urban groups campaigns for influencing local governments.

periodic contestation of local government elections. For instance, in 1985 various independent candidate stood, many of them conservationists, on the Sunshine Coast, Redland Shires and Gold Coast, and in Brisbane where the Brisbane Green Party stood a mayoral and several ward candidates.[76]

However, as in the case of engagement with the Queensland Government, land-use zoning as a form of de facto environmental policy also locked development and conservation into mutually opposed positions. This adversarial character was significant as local government was also vulnerable to the powers of the state government. Instead of being given recognition or powers in the Constitution, local governments had been established through state government legislation.[77] Thus, given the weak position of local government vis-s-a-vis the state government, strategies for implementing de facto environmental or urban policy through local government zoning regulations was therefore a precarious strategy if not approved of by the Queensland government. The state government could and did overturn decisions made by local government, and even sacked elected local government politicians.

Through the 1980s the National Party Government continued its long tradition of minimising the capacity for public scrutiny of development policy. In the late 1980s, for instance, in late night sessions of Parliament new legislation was introduced with the following intentions: to empower State Cabinet to more effectively overturn State and local Government laws in relation to development projects: to prevent local governments from rejecting a project even if it required their administration; the removal of the power by the public to appeal in Local Government Court; and the introduction of the "study report on environmental impact of the scheme" for which no standards had been specified.[78]

The federal level of government also was targeted by the conservation movement, in spite

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[76] Liz Bourne. "Local government and the environment". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.6. no.1. 1985. p.6.

[77] For instance, see Llois Cutts and Dick Osborn. "Diversity in local government systems". *Australian Local Government Handbook*. Australian Government Publishing Service. 1989, and R.J.K. Chapman and Michael Wood. *Australian Local Government. The Federal Dimension*. George Allen and Unwin. Sydney. 1984. pp.10-12.

[78] "Paradise up for Grabs". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.8. no.2. 1987. pp.1-3.

of the lack of explicit Constitutional powers for legislating on environmental matters. Environmental policy was enacted by federal governments in various ways, such as utilising legislation established for different purposes. For instance, the external affairs powers was used by federal governments to declare specified regions as a World Heritage Areas, which then allowed for the rejection of applications for export licences.[79] Sand mining on Moreton Island was prevented in 1981 by the placing of export bans on minerals mined from that island by the Federal Government .[80]

The above discussion shows that environmental policy was spread over three tiers of government. It also shows that there was rarely been a clear distinction between environmental policy and other policy areas. In addition, these policy areas were ad hoc and piece-meal, scattered throughout many different state agencies. Moreover, environmental protection policies were largely expressed in terms of land-use regulation, reflecting the nature of the policy framework at local and state government levels. A consequence of this institutional framework was that a piece-meal approach to the issues was fostered: each issue had to be fought separately. These campaigns tied up substantial amounts of conservation movement resources and time in a seemingly bottomless pit of issues. Thus, the environmental policy framework hindered the endeavours of the conservation movement to achieve their conservation aims. However the above discussion also demonstrates the unwillingness of the Queensland Government to heed the issues raised by the conservation movement. Instead, the Government manipulated the environment policy reforms to minimise the effectiveness of the conservation movement. The following discussion focuses upon factors which can largely account for these actions by the Queensland Government.

**political economy and the Queensland Government**

This discussion addresses the reasons behind the frontier mentality of rampant natural

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[79] B.W. Davis. "Federal-state tensions in Australian environmental management: the world heritage issues". Ken J. Walker. ed. *Australian Environmental Policy*. NSW University Press. Kensington, NSW. 1992. pp.215-232.

[80] Van Acker and Eddy. "The Moreton Island sand mining conflict". 1992. p.95.

resources extraction by the Queensland Government, noted by Fitzgerald.[81] In so doing, it also accounts for the resistance of the Queensland Government to the conservation movement demands for nature preservation measures, and the claims that policies sought by the conservation movement constituted unacceptable 'impediments' to development. The discussion shows that a major factor contributing to the difficulties encountered by the conservation movement in gaining support from the various levels of government lay with the state-developer nexus which first emerged from the political economy of Queensland in colonial times. This structural characteristic of the state government contributed substantially to the zeal with which the National Government pursued the minerals boom in the early 1970s, supported by the primary, and later the tertiary sectors, in the face of the expressions of public concern about environmental impact. These factors can largely account, also, for the continuing polarisation of the development versus nature preservation conflict.

In the 1980s the Queensland economy remained dominated by the primary sector, a pattern begun during early colonial settlement (following European invasion).[82] Initially this pattern of development resulted from Queensland's problem with generating sufficient domestic capital for investment. As a matter of policy however, there were comparatively few controls on foreign investment by state governments. Thus investment flowed into the primary sector, to provide raw materials for servicing manufacturing sectors of the more developed states. Western Australian and Queensland remained the most dependent upon the primary sector, failing to develop strong manufacturing bases. According to Mullins, this was a deliberate policy of the Federal Government.[83] Thus capital investment from outside Queensland (from other states and international) largely determined the development patterns of Queensland, and maintained the dependence upon the primary sector.

Apart from its role in attracting investment for development, the Queensland governments

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[81] Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*. 1984. p.388-89.

[82] Lewis. 1978. "Queensland nationalism and Australian capitalism". 1978. pp.18,123-4, Mike Berry. "Corporate accumulation and the corporate city. Australia in Recession." B. McLoughlin, J. Brian and M. Huxley. eds. *Urban Planning in Australia: Critical Readings*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1986. pp.32-33.

[83] Patrick Mullins. "Australian urbanisation and Queensland's underdevelopment". *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. vol.4. no.2. 1980. pp.223-24.

necessarily had to play an actively interventionist role in establishing development-related infrastructure. Provision of transport facilities such as roads, ports and railways, and amenities such as water and power facilities, were essential to support industrial development as well as to attract investors. Competition between states to capture investment contributed to the provision of infrastructure, which were often tailored to developers' interests.[84] Thus, the state operated as an agent to aid the private sector, a form of 'development agency'.[85] This factors established the practice of close interdependent relationships between big business and the state.

Political and social factors also contributed to the pattern of economic development in Queensland, particularly with regard to the capacity of some economic interests to influence government policy. For instance, the first Queensland Parliament was dominated by the powerful and relatively successful pastoralists, who pursued policies in their own interests. They were in part motivated by the dominance of protectionist national policies which favoured manufacturer's over primary producer's interests.[86] There were also the problems of government mismanagement and corruption, as well as short term expedient policies to facilitate electoral success.[87] Moreover, there were viability problems for even the most favoured industries. Thus the government instituted interventions aimed at maintaining these industries, through various forms of protection, subsidies, and market and price boards.

Thus, the Queensland government continued as an interventionist state in support of primary industries, and linked closely with big business. These developments contributed to continuing incidences of corruption, with respect to deals between developers and government officials, and the attempt to keep them from public scrutiny. Moreover, formal links between state and industry had long instituted. The various primary industries departments had close relationships with the industries, often relying upon them for policy

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[84] Elizabeth Harman. "The city, state and resource development in Western Australia". J. Brian McLoughlin and Margo Huxley. eds. *Urban Planning in Australia*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1986. pp.70-76.

[85] Lewis. "Queensland nationalism and Australian capitalism". 1978. p.122.

[86] Mullins. "Australian urbanisation and Queensland's underdevelopment". 1980. p.217.

[87] Lewis. "Queensland nationalism and Australian capitalism". 1978. p.118 and Mullins. "Australian urbanisation and Queensland's underdevelopment." 1980. p.221.

proposals. Many public service departments corresponded to industrial sectors, as in the case of the Mines and Lands Departments which had charters to *promote* mining and land development.[88] These factors enhanced the propensity towards an authoritarian means of dealing with domestic social discontent and democratic pressures.[89]

The international minerals boom which began in the 1960s, and the downturn in Australian manufacture of the early 1970s, provided opportunities in Queensland for both economic development and increased population to support the expanded economic activity. The reigning National (previously Country) Party Government took full advantage of this timing, and endeavoured to expand the Queensland economy. This Government rode the boom through to the mid-1980s, claiming full credit for the apparent economic successes arising from it.[90] They encouraged a massive increase in foreign investment which saw the economy prosper, and built strong links with the mining and business interests from the 1970s onwards. However, as discussed above, the economic boom was accompanied by environmental and social repercussions. Public discontent emerged in Queensland about the environmental impact of primary industry and related urbanisation and infrastructure developments. The conservation movement expanded at a state level and nationally. The Federal Labor Government, then under Whitlam, went some way towards addressing these issues in the early 1970s, for example by making more funding available to voluntary conservation organisations.[91]

The Queensland National Government was not interested in these issues. Its priority was to maintain the conditions for economic growth through supporting the state-business nexus and maintaining social control of dissent. The endeavours of the conservation movement to force environmental issues onto the political agenda were interpreted as a hostile anti-development force, intent on 'locking up' natural resources and to keep them from economic utilisation. For instance, in the mid-1970s the Queensland Premier concurred with the mining lobby that

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[88] Hundloe. "The environment". 1985. p.86.

[89] Lewis. "Queensland nationalism and Australian capitalism". 1978. p.126.

[90] Hundloe. "The environment". 1985. p.81.

[91] Gilpin. "The Australian Environment". 1980. pp.209-10.

demands by conservationists to prevent mining on Fraser Island would "lose the nation" millions of dollars.[92] In the mid-1980s, these claims still continued. In another example, the Queensland Minister of Mines and Energy referred to the proposal by the conservation movement to zone all of Moreton Island as a national park as, "sterilising [Moreton Island] in the interests of conservation."[93] This was not an unrealistic assessment, as there were no institutional means for reconciling development and conservation outcomes. Environmental policy was ad hoc, minimalist, and existed primarily in the form of land-zoning. Thus prevention of development was the major means of enforcing nature preservation outcomes (see discussion above). Civil liberties issues and charges of secrecy and corruption characterised public criticism of the successive National Party Governments. Exposing the state-business nexus and demanding open and accountable government were central issues for the conservation movement.[94]

### the adversarial scenario

The conservation movement had endeavoured to exploit existing legislation and regulations to further their goal of protecting the environment. However as the above discussion shows, environmental policy was a battleground between two apparently mutually exclusive priorities, with no means for their reconciliation. By working within the prevailing institutional framework, the conservation movement effectively locked their agenda into one of opposing development. This adversarial scenario weakened the conservation movements capacity to achieve its goals. It further alienated the government and development lobby, as well as many potential supporters of nature preservation who also favoured development. The conservation movement was subjected to public criticism for its opposition to development, as noted above. In addition, the seeming anti-development demands of conservationists were construed as prioritising the environment over employment. For instance, the Queensland Premier claimed in 1983 that the conservation movement "crippled industry and destroyed

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[92] For instance, see "Joh wants mining ban lifted". *Sunshine Coast Daily*. 18 July. 1981. p.3 and Judith Hoare. "Fraser Island riles Bjelke-Peterson". *Australian Financial Review*. 11 November 1976. pp.1-7.

[93] van Acker and Eddy. "The Moreton Island sand mining conflict: 1974-1990." 1992. pp.164-165.

[94] "One vote, one value". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.9. no.3. 1988. p.9.

jobs."[95]

However, in the context of continued campaigning against the local and State governments development policy, the conservation movement sought to begin a reconciliation of development and nature preservation. With respect to the expansion of urbanisation in the late 1970s in southeast Queensland, it was argued that:

> Developer's and conservationists must co-operate to plan rational multi-purpose land use. We must not leave the details of land use planning to experts of government authorities ... The success of wildlife conservation depends on a partnership between government organisations, voluntary groups and individuals.[96]

References to voluntary groups and individuals refer to the conservation organisations which had flourished since 1950. Conservationists claimed that many conflicts could be avoided if the Government sought public opinion before supporting major proposals. The *World Conservation Strategy* was proposed as the model the National Government ought to consider, for dealing more effectively with conservation conflicts.[97] However the Queensland Government was not interested in implementing institutional reforms which might reconcile development and nature preservation priorities. It preferred the traditional closed door approach to development decision-making within the business-state nexus and repression of civil liberties (see above).

During these attempts in the 1970s to implement (de facto) environmental policy, the conservation movement endeavoured to improve their bargaining position with the Government. It relied substantially upon gaining widespread public support for their concerns. Consequently, alignments were sought to enhance their capacity to persuade the Government to favour their demands. Support was not readily forthcoming from the labour movement, as the economic and urban development projects opposed by the conservation

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[95] "Joh blasts 'greenies'". *Courier Mail*. 14 March 1983. p.3. Also see - Hoare. "Fraser Island riles Bjelke-Peterson". 1976. pp.1-7, "Joh wants mining ban lifted". 1981. p.3, and "Tenni condemns silica decision". *Cairns Post*. 13 August. 1988.p.4.

[96] Wally Davies. "Brisbane wildlife survey launched". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. May. 1980. p.1.

[97] Bourne. "Public participation". 1980. p.6.

movement promised to generate job opportunities and economic growth.[98] However, alignments with the land rights movement proved a useful and continuing strategy for the conservation movement.

There were pragmatic considerations for the links between the conservation organisations and the land rights movement. The granting of mining leases and sale of cheap land to developers affected both the aspirations of the Aboriginal claimants to land rights and their supporters, as well as those with nature preservation concerns. The shared a common concern over how the use of Crown Land should be determined.[99] However, this alignment was not only pragmatic. The conservation looked to traditional Aboriginal culture to legitimise their own nature preservation claims. This view has its genesis in colonial Australia where it was noted that the Aboriginal way of life was apparently more compatible with preserving the wilderness than the European society. This was a continuing theme throughout the contemporary conservation movement. [100] However this alignment had to be constructed, and it was not without its tensions. For instance, in the late 1970s the Aboriginal community did not support the Government proposal that the Cape York region be declared a wilderness and wildlife area. They were concerned that such a declaration would diminish their chances of eventually gaining title to this land. A prominent conservationist warned other conservationists to be wary about being used as a pawn by the Government against the Aboriginal community through pretences of green policy.[101]

However, the main potential for support for nature preservation issues lay with the general

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[98] West. "Goals, strategy and structure". 1991. p.140.

[99] For instance the Queensland government selling land on Cape York very cheaply to developers - Liz Bourne. "Wilderness on Cape York". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. June. 1980. p.1. Moreover, over the 1970s there was common concern across the anti-uranium, Aboriginal land rights, and environmental movements about use of Crown land. This was evident in articles in *Chain Reaction* throughout this period.

[100] Reynolds discusses this interpretation of the Aboriginal way of life by early settlers and conservationists - Reynolds. *Dispossession*. 1989. pp.60-78. This interpretation is evident in articles throughout *Chain Reaction* in the late 1970s, when cooperation between the Aboriginal land rights, anti-uranium, and conservation movements were strongly opposing the Federal Government's policy for uranium mining.

[101] Bourne. "Wilderness on Cape York". 1980. p.1.

public and the media.[102] The conservation organisations courted the media by supplying information and press releases, organising tours to proposed development sites for the media, and organising public activities designed to attract media attention. Media campaigns were particularly important for the conflicts some distance from urban areas because of accessibility and related logistical issues. Some media campaigns were successful, although not necessarily because of Government responses. For instance, at times, the developers made the decision to not proceed with developments, as in the case of the withdrawal of the East-West Airlines from their plans for a large-scale resort on Lindeman Island.[103]

Campaigns to educate the public about nature preservation issues, and to provide evidence of public support, were organised over the 1970s. One strategy was to bring people to the places under threat from development, by inviting the general public on various kinds of excursions. For instance, in 1976 the Queensland Conservation Council organised a bus trip to the Conondale Ranges to "familiarise people with the beauty of the area and the importance of the issue."[104] In 1977, the Scenic Rim association organised a bushwalk and picnic in that region, while the Australian Littoral Society and Queensland Ornithological Society organised a boat trip to southern Moreton Bay to bushwalk, bird watch, and picnic amongst the mangroves.[105] The Wide-Bay Burnett Conservation Council organised a weekend "at the height of the wildflower season" at the Cooloola region in 1987, involving boat cruises, truck tours, and addresses by "leading authorities" on conservation matters.[106]

Another strategy was to bring the experience of the threatened regions to the people. Audiovisual displays and demonstrations were publicly exhibited. The Queensland Conservation Council set up photographic displays of the impact of wood chipping on the forests in southeast Queensland in the main shopping centre of Brisbane, as well as

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[102] West discusses the importance of media campaigns, and subsequent need for appropriate spokespeople as 'respectable' and 'articulate' - West. "Goals, strategy and structure". 1991. pp.142-143.

[103] See van Acker and Eddy. "The Moreton Island sand mining conflict". 1992. p.98.

[104] *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. September. 1976. u.p.

[105] *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. February. 1977. u.p. and *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. May. 1977. u.p., respectively.

[106] "Discovering Cooloola Weekend. 8-10/9/78." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. July. 1976. p.6.

audiovisual shows of Moreton Island.[107] The Australian Littoral Society showed a slide show of the Great Barrier Reef, focusing upon the turtle breeding areas on the Reef and their significance.[108] In addition, publications were produced by the Queensland Conservation Council, containing photographs of these regions and explanations of their conservation value. *The Future of Moreton Island* was launched in May 1977, containing a background to the conflict over the fate of Moreton Island, as well as "the history of the island, access and facilities, and the value of wilderness".[109] A publication on the Conondale Ranges was also produced by the Queensland Conservation Council, which "details the natural values of the range and presents the case for a national park of 31,000 hectares there."[110]

There were a range of other kinds of strategies to facilitate public involvement. One strategy was to bring to the attention of the general public the limitations of the advertisements for mining lease applications:

> the purpose of the advertisement is to inform the public so that they may exercise their right in approving or objecting to the applications. Such advertisements do not fulfil this purpose.[111]

The advertisements were criticised for failing to sufficiently specify the location of the proposed mining lease areas, thus failing to alert the public to applications on, or near, environmentally sensitive areas. The general public was also encouraged to publicise conservation issues through buying bumper stickers and slogan t-shirts produced by the conservation groups. In Brisbane, an outlet for the distribution of this kind of merchandise, as well as photographic images of areas under threat, was established. The Environmental Outlet was opened in Brisbane in May 1977 for this purpose, and also to fund raise to make up for the short fall in government funding.[112]

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[107] *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. February 1977. u.p. and *Queensland Conservation Council newsletter*. September 1976. u.p., respectively.

[108] *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. February. 1977. u.p.

[109] *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. June. 1977. p.7.

[110] *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. June. 1977. p.11.

[111] "Information of confusion?" *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. June. 1977. p.7.

[112] "Environmental Outlet." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. May/June 1979. p.14.

Apart from seeking public support, another means of pressuring the National Government was through strategies to influence electoral outcomes. Since the late 1970s the Queensland Conservation Council, in conjunction with the other major conservation organisations, had organised campaigns to promote electoral support in favour of the party most in sympathy with their views. This was determined through the administering of questionnaires to candidates from the various parties, as well as the independent assessment of candidates. Members and supporters of the conservation movement were urged to vote for the party that had provided the best overall response to the questionnaires. This information was published in the organisational newsletters as well as promoted through the media. The Green Alliance campaign,[113] originally a national conservation movement initiative, was formed in Queensland in early 1983 by major conservation organisations. Its purpose was to:

> make the political parties and candidates aware of environmental issues and to lobby them to adopt and implement responsible and realistic environmental protection.[114]

An Environmental Policy Statement was produced in conjunction with a "declaration for the Environment".[115] The special election issue of the Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter for the 1986 Queensland state election stated that:

> It was agreed [by over 60 Queensland conservation organisations] that the campaign would not involve the endorsement of any political party or candidate, nor would we be running our own candidates in the election. rather, the campaign aims to increase public awareness about environmental issues, and where the parties stand on these vital issues, so that voters can make an informed decision on polling day.[116]

This strategy had the advantage of providing an avenue for the public to express conservationist views, as well as to contribute to the vulnerability of the National

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[113] See "Green Alliance formed to monitor environmental policies". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.4. no.3. 1983. p.2.

[114] Liz Bourne. "The 'Greening' of Queensland". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.4. no.6. 1983. pp.1-2.

[115] *Environmental Policy Statement for the 1983 Queensland State Election. Prepared by the Green Alliance*. [policy statement of joint Queensland conservation movement for 1983 state election campaign] 1983.

[116] "Special Election Issue". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.7. no.4. 1986. p.1 - also *Make your vote count for the environment*. [advertisement placed in Sunshine Coast newspapers by Sunshine Coast Environmental Council for the 1983 state elections] 1986.

Government through democratic pressure.[117]

The electoral campaigns were carefully non-partisan, partly to avoid compromising public funding to the conservation organisations, but also to maintain support from across the political spectrum. Nonetheless, these electoral campaigns contributed to strengthening ties with the Opposition parties, in particular the Queensland Labor Party. These parties were lobbied as a matter of course, at state and federal levels of government. However the Labor Party, as the most likely successor to the National Party Government, had apparently endorsed many of the conservation views in order to improve their own electoral support. The Labor Party nationally and in the states was courting the green vote, and so became willing allies of the conservation movement while in opposition.[118] Another potential ally was, at times, the Federal Labor Government. While the Queensland National Government remained relatively unresponsive and even hostile to conservation organisation demands, the Federal Labor Party courted support from the environmental lobby. Conservation concerns were increasingly on the public agenda following the flooding of Lake Pedder after a national campaign to prevent it. The Tasmanian Dam campaign in the early 1980s, as well as the Federal Labor Party support for the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Act, provided an opportunity for the Federal Labor Party to prove its green credentials.[119] A national conference of major Conservation Councils and Environmental Centres was held in Canberra soon after the Federal Labor Government came to power in 1983, to better coordinate the activities and resources of the national conservation movement.[120]

In spite of a great deal of public support, and professionally staffed and skilled organisations

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[117] The Australian Conservation Foundation also ran federal election campaigns. A particularly energetic campaign was organised for the 1983 federal election, mainly to highlight concerns about the proposed damming of the Franklin River. The Labor Party subsequently won this election - Geoff Mosley. "Vote Labor and Democrat to save the South West". *Australian Conservation Foundation Newsletter*. vol.4. no. 2. p.1-3.

[118] Queensland Opposition Labor Party policy contained many of the key concerns of the conservation groups, including administrative reform issues - see Bourne. "The 'greening' of Queensland". 1983. p.1-3.

[119] Liz Bourne. "A brighter future for the environment under Labor". *Queensland Conservation Council*. March. vol.4. no.2. 1983. pp.1-2: this article discusses the hopes held by the conservation movement, for the incoming Federal Labor government's support for conservation issues.

[120] Liz Bourne. "Conservation Meeting proves fruitful." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.4. no.3. 1983. p.2.

and pressure group strategies, the conservation movement still had relatively few successes. To deal with this problem, as mentioned above, the Queensland (and the national) conservation movement had developed an interest in reconciling environmental and social outcomes.[121] Several objectives emerged towards this goal. Preservation of the natural environment required, firstly, that development and conservation be reconciled, which also would reduce the polarity of the conservation versus development conflict. This required institutional reforms to actually be accomplished. Another objective of the conservation movement was the replacement of the National Government with one which would implement such institutional reforms.

## PROMOTING SUSTAINABILITY

This chapter has thus far established that the political and institutional context reinforced the adversarial scenario of development and nature preservation concerns. However, it also signalled early efforts by the conservation to more effectively influence that scenario in their favour through demands for public participation in major development decisions. This section addresses the efforts by the conservation movement through the 1980s to reconcile development and nature preservation concerns. It focuses upon the identification of institutional failures which contributed to the maintenance of the adversarial scenario by the conservation movement. It shows that one means to reconcile development with nature preservation concerns was through engagement with economic debate to lend more credibility to their demands. It also shows, more significantly, that the conservation movement advocated political, administrative, and legal reforms. This reform package constitutes the environmental project of the conservation movement.

### reconciling development and conservation

The continuing economic down turn and recessionary climate of the early 1980s heightened the perceived necessity for the conservation movement to deal more effectively with economic issues. One strategy for pursuing nature preservation objectives was to provide

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[121] Davies. "Brisbane wildlife survey launched". 1980. p.1.

economic rationales. 'Alternative employment' was proposed, to address accusations directed towards conservationists that they placed a higher priority on the environment than on employment. They proposed a strategy which was claimed to "better safeguard jobs than the present management strategy for rainforests".[122] The Development Without Destruction Conference was held in Cairns in September 1980, and was attended by regional conservation organisations. The conference proposed promoting alternative forms of tourism. One example was a tourism strategy:

> where Aboriginals introduced visitors in an intimate way to their lands and culture ... in a manner which avoided destruction of culture and environmental consequences which are currently associated conventional mass tourist ventures.[123]

Campaigners opposing sand mining on Moreton Island in the late 1970-1980s claimed that rezoning of the island as a National Park would be more economically viable than the proposed mining.[124] To some extent these economic arguments helped to head off criticism directed at the conservation movement. More importantly, it signalled the increasing interest by the conservation movement in the reconciliation of nature preservation and development objectives.

Reforms aimed at resolving conflicts were also promoted. Legal reform proposals sought to improve the capacity of the public to respond to unwelcome developments. Central to these reform proposals were legislative changes to give legal standing for community groups and individuals, as well as legal aid for community groups with respect to environmental issues. This was an important issue, as the conservation movement had noted that the public was at a disadvantage in comparison with the pro-development (government and business interests) lobby with regard to the legal process. For instance, local government courts were one of the few mechanism through which the public could appeal land-zoning and related Town Planning provisions. However, lodging an appeal was expensive and legal aid was rarely made available.[125] Other legal reform proposals included specialist land planning legislation

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[122] David Allworth. "Rainforest choices". *Queensland Conservation Council*. vol.3. no.1. 1982. p.8.

[123] "News from around Queensland". *Queensland Conservation Council*. October. 1980. p.2.

[124] Van Acker and Eddy. "The Moreton Island sand mining conflict". 1992. p.94.

[125] Adrian Jeffreys. "Town planning for the conservationist". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.3. no. 2. 1982. p.7.

and an independent science tribunal.[126]

In addition to legal reforms, the conservation movement also proposed processes for resolving conflict outside the legal framework. The aim was to legitimate and facilitate public involvement in the scrutiny of major developments. Central to this proposal was the minimisation of impediments to public involvement in the resolution of development conflicts. Thus access to information and funding was proposed. In addition, the conflict resolution proposals also advocated the formalising of conflict resolution processes, such as the establishment of forums where interested parties could negotiate. This proposal was oriented towards land-use conflicts which had long characterised environmental disputes. The legal reforms maintained the adversarial scenario, as they must in an adversarial legal system. The conflict resolution processes were, however, intended to facilitate communication and generate alternatives satisfactory to all concerned parties. Thus alternative dispute resolution processes for environmental disputes was to involve "mediation, conciliation, independent expert appraisal, public negotiation or arbitration."[127]

Further to these methods of conflict resolution was the endeavour to prevent conflicts. Conflict prevention referred to the establishment of policy making processes which reconciled development and nature preservation concerns. This notion of reconciliation was at the heart of the environmental project of the conservation movement. To this end, the conservation movement advocated institutional reforms which were intended to circumvent problems with the prevailing policy making process. In particular, the proposed reforms aimed to address the limitations of the bureaucratic model which dominated the practices of the state agencies, and the business-state nexus which was an intrinsic part of the bureaucratic practices.

One major criticism of the bureaucratic model was the exclusion of the substantively rational in favour of formal and technical forms of knowledge production in the policy formulation

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[126] See *Green Challenge. A Log of Claims. Presented to Queensland's Political Parties by the Environmental Movement in Queensland. October 1989.* [log of claims in preparation for 1989 Queensland state election campaign] Brisbane. 1989 and Queensland Conservation Movement. *Time's Running Out.* [log of claims in preparation for 1986 Queensland state election campaign] Brisbane. 1986

[127] *Green Challenge. Log of Claims.* 1989. p.2.

process. Conservationists claimed that nature was attributed a use value at the expense of intrinsic value. There were also claims that environmental problems were often resolved through the application of technical approaches which failed to appreciate the intrinsic worth of eco-systems. The environment, it was argued, was viewed as a resource with no value-based assessments about the impacts of interventions into the ecology. This criticism was particularly directed at engineers, as public servants often had engineering training.[128]

A second criticism of the prevailing bureaucratic model was that it encouraged a plethora of agencies in which environmental and related policy processes were located. This was seen as a coordination problem across the levels of government and departments. Coordination was hampered by the centralism of bureaucratic arrangements which compartmentalised information, resources, and decision-making paths - as fragmented, isolationist, and competitive to policy making. They advocated more coordination between departments, and restructuring within them, to overcome these problems - as well as the rationalisation of existing environmental legislation.[129]

Related to this coordination issue was another issue, of long-term planning. According to the conservation movement, the capacity to engage in long term planning was limited by the weaknesses of the bureaucratic model. However, long-term planning was advocated for overcoming the limited view from within departments as well as short-term political expedience of the government. This was considered necessary as it was considered that the resolution of many environmental problems would necessarily require some fundamental changes to development and lifestyle practices. This issue was rendered even more acute by increasing concern about atmospheric gases throughout the 1980s: ozone layer depletion and green-house.[130] Thus, the reform proposals advocated planning to cater for long term outcomes rather than piecemeal development policy.

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[128] For instance, this issue was raised by Rosey Crisp, the convenor of Queensland Conservation Council - Rosey Crisp. *Engineers, Resource Development and the Environment*. A Conference Paper presented to Institute of Engineers Conference. Author's collection. November. 1991, and Hundloe. "The environment". 1985. p.86.

[129] See *Green Challenge. Log of Claims*. 1989 and Queensland Conservation Movement. *Time's Running Out*. 1986.

[130] For instance, these issues were raised by the conservation movement in the campaigns which compared the environmental policies of the major parties - *Green Challenge. Log of Claims*. Brisbane. 1989.

For the conservation movement, the managerial model seemed to provide a useful basis for a reform process which could address both the coordination and long term planning requirements. There were demands for a separate Environment and Planning Ministry, as well as an environmental audit of the state's natural resources. Proposals for specific planning mechanisms included social and environmental impact assessment processes, management of lands and conservation and management of marine areas and wetlands, flora and fauna. Specific conflicts areas were identified, and management strategies mooted, such as the Barrier Reef, Forestry and Rainforests. Management mechanisms and Strategic Plans were advocated which involved all three levels of government.[131]

Managerial reforms to deal with coordination and long term planning were also seen as a means for introducing substantively rational environmental priorities into the policy making process. However, the it was considered that its success would substantially be determined by the priorities and assumptions of those who participated in the management processes. This view was linked to criticism of the business-state nexus which was already intrinsic to the bureaucracies, as discussed above. Public servants in the Queensland Government in the 1960 were likely to have tertiary training in engineering, if at all, although this situation changed somewhat in the 1970s. They attained their high positions through seniority within the Public Service conventions. The business-state nexus was also criticised, particularly as it had been institutionalised.[132] The conservation movement was also critical of the policy of industry self-regulation for dealing with environmental concerns. Self-regulation was based on the assumption that industry had a stake in maintaining the environment in the interests of remaining profitable. However, from the conservation movement came claims that there was no necessary link between profitability and environmental protection.[133] Conservationists claimed that a broader range of participants beyond bureaucratic and business representatives was needed to advocate their own substantively rational perspective of the intrinsic value of nature.

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[131] *Green Challenge. Log of Claims*. 1989. p.1.

[132] Hundloe. "The environment". 1985. p.86.

[133] "Tourism and the environment". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. September. vol.9. no.3. 1988. p.6 - this article puts various arguments to support this claim.

After decades of government secrecy and repression, the conservation movement was intent upon establishing a legitimate role for conservation organisations as a community participant in the proposed reformed institutions. To this end they also supported demands from other community groups for the formalisation of public involvement in policy making. These demands expressed a wider movement of reform in Queensland, as a range of social justice, urban protest, and civil liberties organisation also campaigned for a more open and accountable government.[134] Thus the conservation movement in Queensland sought also to be involved as a community group in consultation and participation on public policy formulation and implementation. In terms of making more information available to the public, there was also a proposal for regular State of the Environment Reports for Queensland, freedom of information mechanisms, and an environmental audit of natural resources.[135] However, a range of other forums dedicated to community involvement had been proposed, calling for full public participation in all decisions having significant effect on the environment. This proposal was to be supported by education programs to facilitate informed public involvement and funding assistance:

> to provide an adequate level of funding to non-government conservation organisations to enable them to provide environmental education services to the community, advice to public agencies, and representation of the community's viewpoint in environmental decision-making,[136]

also including 'appropriate' funding and resource for this task, and including environmental issues education into the school curriculum.

The movement for institutional reform was part of a national one which had been more successful in some other states. In several states, community consultation practices had been introduced at local and state governments levels.[137] Additional impetus for developing a program for institutional reform came in the early 1980s from the introduction by the

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[134] Bron Stevens and John Wanna. "The Goss Government: an agenda for reform". Bron Stevens and John Wanna (eds). *The Goss Government*. Centre for Australian Public Sector Management. Macmillan. 1993.

[135] *Green Challenge. Log of Claims*. 1989. p.3.

[136] *Times Running Out*. 1986, in the 'Public Involvement' Section.

[137] For instance, Symons notes the provision for community consultation through local government reforms initiated in the 1970s in several states, including Tasmania and New South Wales - Ross Symon. "Organisational change in local government". *Australian Government Handbook*. Australian Government Printing Service. Canberra. 1989.

incoming Federal Hawke Labor Government of their sustainable development agenda. In response to international debates about sustainable development, the Federal Government participated in various international conferences such as the Framework Convention on Climate Change in the early 1980s. The *National Conservation Strategy for Australia* was developed in anticipation of it being the national strategy. The Federal Government also sought cooperation from the state governments.[138] The Queensland National Government was, however, uninterested, claiming it did not need it:

> In the case of Queensland it was stated that the State Government was already committed to sound land management and there was no need for further endorsement.[139]

This situation remained unchanged throughout the Queensland National Party Government administration until they lost the 1989 state elections to the Labor Party. Meanwhile the Federal Government had, by 1990, established the Wet Tropic World Heritage Management Authority as part of a long term management strategy involving joint state-federal cooperation.[140]

Meanwhile, in Brisbane, a more politically astute Liberal Brisbane City Council administration pre-empted the reluctant Queensland Government by introducing new managerial reforms in the mid-1980s. The Atkinson administration re-organised the bureaucratic system into a more coordinated series of departments, established a range of coordination processes and, and an improved capacity for long-term planning which included a regional basis. In addition, community participation mechanisms were introduced. These developments provided some levers for the growing urban movement and the conservation movement in addition to the zone-related and other limited policy instruments they were already using.[141]

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[138] Ian Moffat. "The evolution of the sustainable development concept: a perspective of Australia". *Australian Geographical Studies*. vol.30. no.1. 1992. pp.32-34.

[139] Moffat. "The evolution of the sustainable development concept". 1992. p.34.

[140] "Rainforest management". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.9. no.6. 1988. p.6.

[141] For instance, the Queensland Conservation Council participated as a community group in the consultation process Strategy 2000, later renamed The Brisbane Plan.

The conservation movement proposed managerial reforms proposals for addressing coordination and long-term planning issues. However, these proposed reforms were also democratic, in that they were intended to enhance the role of the public in political decision-making, at the expense of bureaucrats, business interests, and political parties. In this sense, the conservation movement promoted a democratic managerialist approach for the achieving the reconciliation of development and nature preservation objectives.

### ousting the National Party Government

In the face of the continuing entrenched opposition by the Queensland Government to their reform proposals, the conservation movement sought the replacement of the reigning National Party Government with another party which would be more committed to implementing them.[142] In 1989 the Green Challenge campaign was launched. The basis of this campaign was to serve the leaders of the major political parties with a 102 point Log of Claims, to determine the extent to which the various parties were sympathetic to the conservation concerns.[143] The Log of Claims was developed by the Election Working Group, which had representation from more than 60 conservation organisations. Participant organisations included the Queensland Conservation Council, Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland, the Australian Littoral Society, the Rainforest Conservation Society, the Australian Conservation Foundation, and the Wilderness Society.[144] The demands were framed in terms of four intersecting areas of institutional reforms: administrative and legislative reforms, planning and management mechanisms, public involvement in public policy and public and legal standing in legal challenges. They also advocated the adoption of the World Conservation Strategy.[145]

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[142] The Queensland Premier Bjelke-Peterson lost leadership to Ahern in late 1987. However Ahern had similar policy objectives to Bjelke-Peterson - "The Ahern Government. A 'Vision of Excellence' or the same blinkered view?" *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.9. no. 1. 1988. pp.1-2.

[143] "The Green Challenge". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.10. no.2. 1989. p.10. There were other regional campaigns independent from this campaign, such as the 'How green is your candidate campaign?' organised by the Sunshine Coast Environmental Council - see "Candidates argue over vote system." *Sunshine Coast Daily*. 3 November. 1989. p.7.

[144] "The Green Challenge". 1989. p.10.

[145] See *Time's Running Out*. 1986, and *Green Challenge. Log of Claims*. 1989.

However, the National Government was supported by a gerrymander and other electoral policies which favoured their electoral success.[146] Eliminating the gerrymander through electoral reform would minimise their chances of re-forming a (minority) government at a later time. Thus the conservation movement continued to support civil liberties and electoral reform campaigns over the 1980s. The Queensland Conservation Council voted to support Citizens for Democracy, and to vote in support of electoral reform in the up-coming referendum:

> Of course, the theme of accountability of Government extends further than the voting ritual. Community organisations throughout the state will benefit from a political system which places the politicians under pressure to consider seriously their concerns.[147]

The foundation of the Government began to tremble as the police corruption issue erupted in 1986, resulting in the Fitzgerald Inquiry. This Inquiry also addressed a range of other civil liberties and government accountability issues, which were long time public concerns.[148] The National Party lost government to the Labor Party in the 1989 Queensland state elections.

There was an expectation that the Labor Party would be a reforming government. This expectation can be partially attributed to the traditional role of the Australian Labor Party in Australia as the foil to the conservatives (Liberal and National Parties) in the two-party system. However, more significantly, this expectation was enhanced in Queensland through Labor being kept in Opposition by the National government for more than two decades.[149] While in Opposition, support had been sought from the Labor Party by many who were opposed to the policies of the National Government. The Labour Party in turn had sought

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[146] The Nationals inherited the gerrymander but continued it long after the public found it no longer to be an acceptable practice - Bron Stevens. "Reform of the state electoral system". Bron Stevens and John Wanna. eds. *The Goss Government*. Centre for Australian Public Sector Management. Macmillan. 1993. p.117.

[147] "One vote, one value". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. September. vol.9. no.3. 1988. p.9, also see Rosey Crisp. "Electoral reform". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.11. no.2. 1990. p.6, for discussion of the Queensland Conservation Council submission to the Electoral and Administrative Reform Committee.

[148] Bron Stevens. "Reform of the state electoral system". 1993. pp.117-18.

[149] Bron Stevens and John Wanna. "The Goss Government: an agenda for reform". Bron Stevens and John Wanna. eds. *The Goss Government*. Centre for Australian Public Sector Management. Macmillan. 1993. pp.2-3.

public support in hope of finally achieving a strong enough vote to win government in spite of the gerrymander. Moreover the Labor Party had agreed to support the reform process of the Fitzgerald Inquiry and to stand by its recommendations and those of the Electoral and Administration Reform Commission should they win office.[150]

The conservation movement and the growing urban movement were amongst the organisations and movements which had formed ties with the Queensland Labor Party during the National Party Government reign. These ties between the conservation movement and Labor Party were reinforced by ties between the national conservation movement and the Australian Labor Party, particularly since the era of the Whitlam Government reforms.[151] There was also some tentative interest in non-Labor electoral contenders who had scored better on the Log of Claims. These contenders included the Australian Democrats and Green Independents.[152] While preferences were not allocated, the campaign material suggested that conservation supporters consider seriously the responses to the Log of Claims made by the three parties which actually had the capability of winning the election, thereby effectively excluding the Democrats and Green Independents from consideration (even through the green independents, standing in Broadsound and South Brisbane, had been endorsed by the conservation movement).[153] Of the three major parties attention was drawn to the more positive response of the Labor Party:

> The only conclusion that can be drawn from an objective analysis of the responses to our Log of Claims is that the Labor Party has the best environmental policies of the major parties. The Q.C.C. [Queensland Conservation Council] would urge you to keep this is mind when you cast your vote on Saturday.[154]

The green vote, particularly green preferences, had been an important constituency in the

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[150] Janey Ransley. "Legal and administrative law reform". Bron Stevens and John Wanna. eds. *The Goss Government*. Centre for Australian Public Sector Management. Macmillan. 1993 and Bron Stevens. "Reform of the state electoral system." 1993.

[151] Gilpin notes the support given by the Whitlam Government to the emerging conservation movement, particularly in the form of funding - Alan Gilpin. *The Australian Environment*. 1980. pp.209-210.

[152] "Special election issue". 1989. p.1.

[153] "The Green Challenge". 1989. p.10.

[154] "Special election issue". 1989. p.1.

continuing electoral success federally (and in Tasmania) for the Australian Labor Party.[155] This was also the case in Queensland, where the importance of the green vote had been recognised. Moreover the Labor Party had promised to address many of the issues of central concern to the conservation movement, on record via the response to the Log of Claims. Thus the Labor Party owed much of their electoral success to the green movement. For many in the green movement, there was expectation that the incoming Labor Government would be a reforming and a green government. With the election of the Labor Government in Queensland, sustainable development emerged as a public issue, apparently supported by the new Government.

## CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This chapter has shown that the environmental project developed by the conservation movement was shaped substantially by the political and institutional context in which the conservation movement, as an institutionalised actor, operated. It shows that the project involved promoting institutional reform to achieve the reconciliation of development and nature preservation concerns, in a political climate dominated by economic concerns. The proposed reforms endeavoured to implement new policy processes which would overcomes the perceived shortcomings of the bureaucratic model. What was advocated was a democratically-based managerial approach in which long term planning and coordination was facilitated, and it included the involvement of the community.

Fundamental to the proposed reforms was the non-negotiability of the intrinsic worth of nature. This non-negotiable element represents the continuing attribution of intrinsic value to nature, the anti-systemic dimension of the conservation movement. This anti-systemic dimension has become expressed as institutional reform proposals within the framework of conventional political practices. Thus while acting as a conventional political actor in the conflict about sustainable development, the conservation movement has maintained its anti-systemic dimension. However, in the absence of appropriate institutional reform, the advocacy of nature preservation concerns by the conservation movement failed to engage

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[155] See Liz Bourne. "A brighter future for the environment under Labor". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.4. no.2. 1983. pp.1-3.

with the priorities and interests and the development lobby.[156]

[156] See Chapter Two: Movement Efficacy for further information about 'engagement'.

# Chapter Four

# THE ALTERNATIVE COMMUNITY MOVEMENT

This chapter is the second of three which comprise Part B. It addresses the formation of the environmental project by the alternative community movement. Like the previous chapter, this one is shaped by theoretical considerations about how issues and concerns are produced by movements.[1] The early part of the chapter addresses the formation of the problem definition in relation to the orientation of this movement. The alternative community movement, like the conservation movement, had national dimensions. While its presence in southeast Queensland has some characteristics specific to this region, it is the national dimension which offers the most useful explanatory power for many of its characteristics, particularly during the 1970s.

The national focus has implications for the identification of the problem definition of the relationship between social and environmental outcomes by the alternative community movement. Accordingly, the first section begins with some background to the massive social upheaval in the 1960s and 1970s in many Western liberal democracies from which the radical political movement emerged. This section identifies the anti-bureaucratic orientation grounded in humanist critiques of 'industrial society,' which characterised the social upheaval. This section also identifies a distinction within the radical political movement between the 'lifestyles' and the 'political' tendencies. This slightly arbitrary distinction helps to account for the eventual formation of two quite distinct movements - the respective precursors of the alternative community and political green movements, addressed in this chapter and the next. This distinction also aids in identifying the character of the environmental agendas formed within these two movements.

The remainder of this chapter addresses the formation of the alternative community movement with respect to its distinctive environmental project. However, the term movement

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[1] Refer to Chapter Three: Production of Issues for a more full discussion of these theoretical issues.

in this context should be understood in a different sense than for the conservation movement. In Chapter Three the conservation movement has been characterised as a series of organisations. Here, the alternative community movement is attributed a qualitatively different empirical presence. It is a movement in the sense of a conglomeration of individual and collective endeavours which are united by a common identity and purpose. This characterisation is linked to another characteristic of the movement, in that it is a non-institutionalised collective actor. Accordingly, this chapter prioritises internal movement dynamics and related self-creating factors for explaining the formation of the environmental project, although not to the neglect of the specific social context.[2] This chapter draws upon studies of the Australian alternative community movement undertaken in the 1970s and early 1980s, with specific reference to Cock, Metcalf, and Metcalf and Vanclay.[3] A range of national publications which serviced this movement, such as *Grassroots* and *Earth Garden* also proved a helpful source of data.[4] With respect to the presence of the alternative community movement specifically in southeast Queensland, local newsletters such as *Down to Earth* and *Sunshine News*, and movement-related ephemera, have been the primary source materials.

This chapter shows that the problematic relationship between environmental and social outcomes was posed by this movement as a problem intrinsic to the cultural and institutional basis of 'industrial' society. The 'solution' was to establish a new society beyond what could be achieved through institutional reform, to address their social and environmental concerns.

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[2] See Chapter Two: Production of Issues and Concerns.

[3] Peter Cock. *Alternative Australia. Communities for the Future?* Quartet Books. Melbourne. 1979, W.J. Metcalf. *Dropping Out and Staying In*. PhD Thesis. submitted August 1986. School of Australian Environmental Studies, Griffith University. 1986, W.J. Metcalf. "Anarchy and bureaucracy within the alternative lifestyle movement: or Weber vs. Kropotkin at Nimbin." *Social Alternatives*. vol.6. no.4.1987. pp.47-51, Metcalf and F.M. Vanclay. *Government Assistance to Alternative Lifestyles: Participant Opinion and Professional Recommendation*. AES Working Paper 3/84. July 1984. School of Australian Environmental Studies. Griffith University (a consultancy contract with Office of Youth Affairs, Department of Education and Youth Affairs, Canberra), and W.J. Metcalf and F.M. Vanclay. *Participation in Alternative Lifestyles in Australia*. AES Working Paper 2/84. July 1984. School of Australian Environmental Studies. Griffith University.

[4] Metcalf and Vanclay propose that about 50% of alternative lifestyle participants read these two publications, and further, that "such publications not only serve but are part of the alternative lifestyle movement" - Metcalf and Vanclay. *Participation in Alternative Lifestyles in Australia*. 1984. pp.12-15.

This chapter argues that a (mythic) *rustic ideal* framed the endeavour to build a new society.[5] The second section of this chapter focuses upon the construction of the rustic ideal as a means by which participants could address the humanist problems of the social order. The rustic ideal represents the attempt to gain control over the life-world, and thus was a movement of praxis: of living the new society in the present.[6] This section argues that there were two components of the rustic ideal: the social and the ecological. Each are discussed in turn in relation to the anti-bureaucratic orientation and the social context of this social momentum. The social component focuses upon the search for self-authenticity through establishing individual and collective lifestyles within which humanist-inspired relationships can flourish.

This section shows that the problem definition of the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes developed out of the humanist perspective. As an adjunct to the humanism of this movement, the relationship between social and environmental outcomes was attributed to the character of industrial society, in which a humanity alienated from nature and was capable of acting destructively towards the human and non-human natural environment. This section shows that the project of the alternative community movement was one of praxis, to live out the alternative society through changed lifestyles.

The third section addresses the environmental project of the alternative community movement, with reference to the expression of the rustic ideal by this movement throughout the 1980s. This section shows that the rustic ideal continued to shape the environmental project, albeit within a changed movement and movement context. It shows that the characteristics of the alternative community movement's environmental project were reflected in the movement on a national scale. While this radical endeavour to build an alternative society had not been achieved to the extent originally aspired to, the movement nonetheless

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[5] The notion of the 'rustic ideal' has a meaning specific to this study, and is a simplified way of expressing a specific orientation within the Australian counter-culture.

[6] 'Life-world' refers to the 'precarious set of shared meanings' of an individual, in recognition that the individual exists with a social world of culture - for a comprehensive discussion of this term, see Mary F. Rogers. *Sociology, Ethnomethodology, and Experience. A Phenomenological Critique*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. 1983. In this study, however, 'life-world' refers in addition to the material world and individuals' immediate and social relationship with it.

remained committed to promoting social and environmental objectives framed by the myth of the rustic ideal.

## ANTI-BUREAUCRATIC MOVEMENTS LATE 1950s TO EARLY 1970s

This section addresses the origins of the lifestyles and political tendencies of the radical political movement of the 1960-70s, with specific reference to the formation of the anti-bureaucratic orientation and its expression. Both tendencies were concerned with addressing the incapacity of industrialised society to deal with a range of social problems. To explain these concerns about industrial society, this section addresses the reasons for the massive social unrest in Brisbane in the 1960s, which parallelled similar developments throughout major metropolitan areas in Australia. This section explains the grounds upon which the issues of unrest were posed as a 'problem' and the bases of action for addressing this problem definition, with respect to Australian factors and overseas inspiration.[7] As this was a national phenomenon (as well as international), this section focuses upon the national context with specific reference to events in southeast Queensland.

### the humanism of the new left

The contemporary conservation movement formed in the 1960s in response to the increasingly apparent impact of economic development and urbanisation upon the natural environment, as discussed in the previous chapter. However, a range of other issues were also the target of public attention. In the mid-1960s and early 1970s opposition to the Vietnam War and the associated issue of conscription mobilised substantial support throughout Australia. The campaigning to oppose this war established a social base of activists, many of whom became increasingly critical of a range of other social outcomes. From this period of social unrest emerged the New Left, which represented the counter-culture in the early 1970s, in the major metropolitan centres around Australia.

Australia, in the decade prior to 1965, had experienced a period of relative conservatism,

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[7] See Chapter Two: Production of Issues and Concerns.

although this period was not without controversies. Munro-Clarke refers to the growing (New Left) debate emerging, while Altman points out the opposition to the White Australia policy in the 1960s which "had the potential to tear the Labor Party apart".[8] This period also saw the emergence of a radical university culture in Australia. The participants comprised a social group of middle class youth in tertiary education, at a time of a political stability, rapid economic expansion, and high social mobility.[9] According to Docker, the students experienced a disjunction between the intellectual freedom and suspension of social rules and structures while at university, and the expectation upon them that they later conform to a routinised work day.[10] This social group developed as a culture of idealistic youth who believed they had a role as the "conscience of society".[11] The student movement mobilised around race issues including opposition to apartheid and the White Australia policy, and the promotion of Aboriginal rights, as well as the issues of nuclear disarmament, censorship and repression.[12] The events surrounding the Vietnam War catalysed action by the student movement, with far-reaching consequences.

In 1964 the Australian Government announced its intention to begin selective conscription in 1965, to send Australian troops to Vietnam. Street demonstrations and marches were organised around Australia. The student movement became involved with the prevailing wider peace movement.[13] A 'Vote No' election campaign was organised for the 1966 federal elections. This campaign was not successful, and the Federal Government continued

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[8] Margaret Munro-Clarke. "Rural communitarianism in the post-Vietnam years". Margaret Munro-Clarke. ed. *Communes in Rural Australia. The Movement Since 1970*. Hale and Ironmonger. Sydney. 1984. p.53, and Dennis Altman. "The personal is the political: social movements and cultural change". Brian Head and James Walters. eds. *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*. Oxford University Press. Melbourne. 1988. p.309.

[9] Munro-Clarke. *Rural communitarianism in the post-Vietnam years*. 1984. pp.61-64.

[10] John Docker. "'Those halcyon days': the moment of the New Left". Brian Head and James Walters. eds. *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*. Oxford University Press. Melbourne. 1988. p.295.

[11] According to Docker, this view arose from their middle-class assumption that they were an "ethically superior" class which should promote universal values on behalf of society - see Docker. "'Those halcyon days'". 1988. p.299.

[12] Munro-Clarke. "Rural communitarianism in the post-Vietnam years". 1984. p.54.

[13] Prior to the massive support from the student movement in the 1960s, according to Gordon and Osmond, the peace movement consisted of "a coalition of Communists, [and] left wing ALP members and clergymen" - see Richmond Gordon and Warren Osmond. "An overview of the Australian Left". Richard Gordon. ed. *The Australian New Left*. Hennemann. Melbourne. 1970. p.25.

their policy of Australian military involvement in the war. In Brisbane, many groups mobilised in opposition to Government policy on the war, including the Society for Democratic Action, the Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Committee, and the Campus Moratorium Committee 1970-72.[14]

Meanwhile protests against Australia's involvement in the Vietnam war were at times met with repression and violence on the part of the police. In Brisbane, the anti-war movement became inexorably entwined with civil liberties issues under the politically repressive National Party Government.[15] The Society for Democratic Action, with a platform of opposition to the Vietnam War and conscription, nuclear war, and promotion of democratic freedom, was linked to the Civil Liberties Coordinating Committee.[16]

Participation in the anti-war movement by the Australian student movement and the subsequent exposure to violent repression of their public discontent, contributed to student disillusionment with the capacity of formal political processes to deal with these issues. The Federal Government's policy on the war was seen by many as an inevitable policy of the prevailing social order rather than simply a policy mistake. This disillusionment had consequences for the perception of the Cold War paradigm, and the 'end of ideology'

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[14] The Campus Moratorium Committee organisation included Revolutionary Socialist Students Association, the New Left Group, the Socialists Union, University of Queensland Students Union and some members of staff. Greg George and Joy Gyatt. *Publication of Political Organisations in Queensland*. Fryer Memorial Library, University of Queensland Libraries. Occasional Publication No.2. St. Lucia. 1983. p.79.

[15] "The Free Press Ain't Free." [Brisbane] [one page leaflet] 18 July 1968, referred to the press and its services to the Society for Democratic Action, the Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Committee, and the broader student movement - this leaflet is held as part of the Political Organisations in Queensland Collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland. The bibliography for this collection was been published as Greg George and Joy Gyatt. *Publication of Political Organisations in Queensland*. Fryer Memorial Library, University of Queensland Libraries. Occasional Publication No.2. St. Lucia. 1983. Other material from this collection that is referred to in this study, will contain a reference to the name of the collection and its location.

The National Government ironically came to power in 1957 on a platform promoting civil liberties - see Ross Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s. A History of Queensland*. University of Queensland Press. St. Lucia. 1984. pp.556-64.

[16] The Society for Democratic Action, 1966-1969, was originally named the Students for Democratic Action. However the name was changed in 1966 to the Society for Democratic Action - see George and Gyatt. *Publication of Political Organisations in Queensland*. 1983. p.266. Also, Fitzgerald discusses the membership overlap between the anti-war and civil liberties movements in Brisbane - see Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*. 1984. p.560.

assumption by Bell.[17] The legitimacy of not only the Government but also society as a whole was questioned:

> The 'radical' politics that were underlying the new militancy and grandness of aims, involved the realisation that such things as Vietnam and conscription are not simply policy mistakes, but policies predetermined by deeply ingrained value-systems (racism, nationalism, chauvinism, fear of those to the north etc) which results in an inhuman set of social and economic priorities at home: hence only a movement aiming at combating these social and ideological structures could prevent wars of aggression against the liberation movements of the Third World.[18]

This perception about the failure of 'the system' was fuelled to some extent by the overseas students movements and the rise of the New Left overseas.[19] According to Stokes, the presence of the New Left in many Western industrialised nations reflected a disaffected generation, expressing "a deep revulsion against the hypocrisy of both liberal democracy and bureaucratic forms of socialism".[20] The Old Left, moreover, had little to offer this generation, in part because of the exposure of Stalinism in the mid-1950s and the invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia.[21] More significantly, the "materialist, scientific and amoral" preoccupations of orthodox Marxism did not address the contemporary concerns raised in this post-WWII period.[22]

The prevailing social order in the western nations was seen as perpetrating new contradictions at this time of comparative economic prosperity and social peace. Liberal institutions were criticised for failing to live up to their ideals - for instance, poverty arising from unjust distribution flourished. Many felt alienated from political processes.[23] Another failure

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[17] Bell proposed that ideological critique was no longer necessary, in this time of 'prosperity and community life' - discussed in Docker. "'Those halcyon days'". 1988. p.295.

[18] Gordon and Osmond. "An overview of the Australian Left". 1970. p.30.

[19] Stokes identifies the differing precipitating factors in several countries - see Geoff Stokes. "The new left and the counter culture". Norman Wintrol. ed. *Liberal Democratic Theory and its Critics*. Croom Helm. London. 1983. p.444.

[20] Stokes. "The new left and the counter culture". 1983. p.444.

[21] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.16.

[22] Stokes. "The new left and the counter culture". 1983. p.446.

[23] Stokes claims that there was recognition of a conflict between liberal political ideals and social reality - Stokes. "The new left and the counter culture". 1983. p.447.

attributed to liberal political systems was the pervasiveness of psychological alienation, referring to the stifling of human creativity and lack of control over the life-world. Contemporary society was seen as fostering "despair and loss of purpose", and a "malaise of the human spirit".[24] The notion of *alienation* in both these senses became central to the articulation of the problems with contemporary democratic-liberal capitalist society. Humanist interpretations of early Marxism were found to articulate these new concerns:

> [T]his new humanist Marxism stressed the dehumanisation that occurred when humans lacked control over their labour and the products of their labour. This dual lack of control further caused people to be separated or estranged not only from their own essential human creativity but also from their fellow human beings.[25]

The Huron Statement, a 'classic' of the New Left philosophy, stated:

> We regard man [sic] as infinitely precious and possessed of unfulfilled capacities of reason, freedom and love - we oppose the depersonalisation that reduces human beings to the status of things.[26]

This humanist approach implicit in the romantic Marxism was also expressed through radical psychoanalytical theory. Psychoanalytical theory provided a bridge between the personal and the political, in that the problems experienced by individuals could be understood as a failure of the social context rather than of the individual. The social context referred to factors such as poor socialisation in families, the attempts to mould individuals to serve society, and the failure of the liberal democratic apparata to address inequality and oppression:

> The New Left indicted the increasing technical rationalisation of human functions, which aimed to control and organise human beings in more efficient ways.[27]

The humanist approach thus politicised the relationship between the public and private, challenging the dichotomy between them that was presumed in liberal democratic society. Altman, for instance, states that the slogan, 'the personal is political' rested on three implications:

> that personal life is shaped by the political sphere; that the political sphere is in turn shaped to some extent by personal life; and that meaningful political action should

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[24] Stokes. "The new left and the counter culture". 1983. p.447.

[25] Stokes. "The new left and the counter culture". 1983. p.447.

[26] This was part of the Huron Statement produced by the (US) Students for a Democratic Society, quoted in Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.16.

[27] Stokes. "The new left and the counter culture". 1983. p.447.

take place simultaneously in the public and private spheres.[28]

Pakulski draws attention to the common theme of this growing radical political movement. According to Pakulski:

> All protest activities can be seen as being concerned with some aspects of the formal rationality and centralism permeating modern political administrative systems in advanced Western societies. The key elements of these systems are highly bureaucratised political parties and the administrative apparata of the state. They epitomise the modern social order with its intrusive regulations, formalism, centralisation and, above all, instrumental, calculable and value-neutral mode of operation.[29]

Pakulski adds that the political-administrative order was only one target of criticism. For instance, market arrangements were seen as geared towards profitability rather than human needs and related qualitative concerns. The legal system was viewed as excluding the principles of justice, autonomy, equity and fairness. Social institutions in general were criticised for perpetrating the formal rationalism of, "individualism, aggressive acquisitiveness, instrumentalism and formalism".[30]

Accordingly, the New Left promoted an alternative culture for "leading an authentic life, and reaching full potential", to combat the 'alienation' of bureaucratised industrialised society.[31] Docker claims that "repressive" western rationality was seen as the central problem.[32] In this context he accounts for the attraction to, for instance, non-Western thought, altered modes of perception through drugs or eastern mysticism, the "free expression of the bodily

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[28] Altman. "The personal is the political". 1988. p.312.

[29] Jan Pakulski. *Social Movements. The Politics of Moral Protest*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1991. pp.160-61.

[30] Pakulski. *Social Movements*. 1991. p.161.

[31] Pakulski identifies four dominant political administrative types and four types of mass movement which oppose them: he links the character of contemporary movements in western nations with opposition to bureaucratic and technocratic tendencies in society - see Chapter Two: Plurality of Dimensions.

[32] Docker. "'Those halcyon days'". 1988. p.296. This theme is evident in leaflets produced by the Self-Management Group in the early 1970s, for instance, [Self-Management Group]. "Alienation everywhere - and only we can stop it". [Brisbane]. [two page leaflet] Political Organisations in Queensland Collection. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [197?], and [Self-Management Group]. "Boredom at the office". [Brisbane] [two page leaflet] Political Organisations in Queensland Collection. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [197?].

and sensuous", and a "polymorphous sexuality".[33] The aim of these experiences was for individuals to regain control over their life-world rather than remain a passive product of the 'system'.

New forms of activism based on romantic socialist and libertarian philosophies promoted the humanism of the New Left. These philosophies, mainly imported from the United States, were adapted by participants in the Australian movements, to explicate their experiences of contemporary society.[34] According to Docker:

> In terms of political style, the New left ... drew enthusiastically on the history of anarchism and libertarianism, conceived in a communitarian rather than an individualistic spirit: street demonstrations emphasising instant participation; consciousness-raising groups, and meetings where collective decision-making was aimed at and everyone had the right to talk. The stress was on the 'collective', just as the counter-cultural community groups in the country might have 'tribal meetings' to discuss plights and problems. The consciously utopian hope was that such collective methods of decision-making and action in the present would create structures and modes of consciousness for the future within the soiled capitalist-sexist-racist present.[35]

Thus 'political' activism was expressed in terms of participatory social practices in all forms of political, social, and personal endeavours:

> The New Left was marked off from the Old by its stress on personal politics, the need to 'live the revolution' in the sense of behaving in one's personal relationships in a way that foreshadowed the social transformation once sought through political activity.[36]

These social forms were at odds with the conventional organisational vehicles such as interest groups, political parties and unions. Rather than having instrumental aims, their purpose was substantively rational: to reduce personal alienation in the present and to expose the nature

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[33] Docker. "'Those halcyon days.'" 1988. p.296

[34] As Munro-Clarke notes, the transference of 'overseas models' was meaningful in that Australian society had many affinities with other western nations "as an outpost of the English-speaking world" - Munro-Clarke. "Rural communitarianism in the post-Vietnam years". 1984. p.56. Also see Altman, who points out that Australia's cultural, political and economic patterns were similar to other western industrialised nations, even though Australia at that time was a less 'complex' society - that it, less technocratically and industrially developed - Dennis Altman. "The counter-culture: nostalgia or prophesy?" A.F. Davies, S. Encel and N.J. Berry. eds. *Australian Society*. Third edition. Longman and Cheshire. 1977. p.455.

[35] Docker. "'Those halcyon days'". 1988. p.297.

[36] Altman. "The personal is the political". 1988. p.451.

of the system.

**dropping out and challenging the system**

From the maelstrom of dissent of the late 1960s emerged a radical political movement throughout metropolitan centres in Australia. As Altman points out, by the late 1960s this counter-culture had expanded beyond the student movement.[37] A range of diverse activities indicated its presence in the metropolitan centres. Organisations were established for coordinating campaigns about current issues. In Brisbane the major organisation, the Students for Democratic Action formed in 1966, dominated the radical political movement until its demise in 1968. (Late in 1966 it was renamed the Society for Democratic Action to reflect the participation base which extended beyond the student movement.[38]) This organisation cooperated with a range of other organisations and movements, particularly in opposition to the Vietnam war and conscription of Australian troops, and in support of changes in education, civil liberties, and race issues.

To some extent the demise of the Society for Democratic Action was a reflection of the apparent failures of the new radicalism to bring about the social outcomes that were sought:

> The time has arrived, for many of us, to pass from a protest organisation to a radical or revolutionary movement. A movement to challenge the structure of this society. We can no longer protest about special issues without becoming sensitised to the fact that these are only symptoms of a deep malaise. It is this malaise we must challenge ... We should at this stage form Action Committees at whatever level we may be working and studying.[39]

This decision followed the Radicalism in Queensland Conference, held in January 1968 in Brisbane, to discuss the future of the radical political movement. This conference addressed the concerns of the movement in relation to the rise of the international student movement, and also to the growing preoccupation with third world justice and poverty issues:

We are moving out of the hangover of the 50s. People who find their lives in mass

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[37] Altman. "The personal is the political". 1988. p.309.

[38] Society for Democratic Rights. "SDA dissolves". [Brisbane] [one page leaflet] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 28 April 1968.

[39] Society for Democratic Rights. "SDA dissolves". 28 April 1968.

> society meaningless and uninteresting, 'a moral and spiritual wasteland' ... they are finding new meanings in new forms of communication and inter-action in the growing movement for change.[40]

Organisations emerged, to deal with single issues such as uranium and civil liberties, as well as ideologically based organisation.[41]

Meanwhile over the late 1960s and early 1970s various local and national publications were produced, reflecting the new preoccupations and concerns of the radical political movement. These publications included *Digger* and *Way Out*, *The Australian Whole Earth Catalogue*, *Source Magazine*, *High Times*, *The People's Yelo Pages*, *Alternative Melbourne*, *Earth Garden*, *The Good Earth*, and *Grassroots*.[42] In 1977 *Social Alternatives* was initiated in Brisbane, as a national publication:

> Social Alternatives seeks to break outside the conventional means by which social problems are defined, social policies formulated, strategies designed, and solutions put into effect. The major emphasis of the journal is the development of alternative proposals to effect social change toward greater freedom, equality, and democracy.[43]

Another feature of this emergent counter-culture was what Cock refers to as 'alternative movement centres,' established in major metropolitan centres.[44] These 'centres' included bookshops, cultural and education resources, alternative medical centres, macrobiotic and biodynamic food stores, cultural venues and workshops, restaurants, experimental music, theatre and film, and resource centres.[45] In Brisbane, the Society for Democratic Action established Foco as a radical cultural centre at Trades Hall, involving music, poetry, films, theatre, newsletter, and the Red and Black Bookshop. While Foco was closed in 1968-1969, the Red and Black Bookshop opened in a new location. The bookshop distributed literature

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[40] "Radicalism in Queensland. A Conference". [Brisbane] [one page leaflet] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland [1977] notes that the conference was held in January 1968.

[41] Refer to George and Gyatt for a comprehensive listing of Queensland organisations and their aims - George and Gyatt. *Publication of Political Organisations in Queensland*. 1983.

[42] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.42-47.

[43] "Editorial". *Social Alternatives*. Spring. 1977. p.5.

[44] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.28,40-42.

[45] Altman. "The counter-culture". 1977. p.456.

otherwise unavailable through commercial or other sources. The stock included titles on self-management, feminism, ecology, alternative technology, psychology, education, crafts, art, anarchist magazines, and anti-uranium literature. A 'free press' was established to service the radical political movement.[46] 'Learning exchanges' were also set up in the early 1970s, one at Queensland University and another in the city. The intention was to facilitate contact between those willing to teach and those wanting to be taught, to organise seminars and discussions, and as a resource centre and library.[47]

At a national level, the Aquarius Festival of 1973 was a significant development, reflecting the national scope and the amount of support for the radical political movement. The Aquarius Festival was held at Nimbin in northeastern New South Wales in 1973. It was convened by the Australian Union of Students, the year following the new Federal Labor Government's policy of ending conscription and Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War.[48] The Aquarius Festival was followed by others, organised by the 'Down to Earth' movement. Various 'Confests' (conference and festival) were held, the first at Cotter Dam in 1976 near Canberra and attended by about 10,000 people, followed in 1977 by one in Bredbo in south east New South Wales, and in 1979 at Berri, South Australia. These were counter-cultural festivals dedicated to communicating and sharing the 'new consciousness' as a positive 'alternative', and to dispel the 'drop-out image'.[49]

The 'drop out image' referred to the decision by many participants in the radical political

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[46] These events are referred to in leaflets including Society for Democratic Rights. "SDA dissolves". 28 April 1968, "The free press ain't free". 18 July 1968, and *Foco Newsletter* vol.2. no.9. Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 26 February 1969. p.2. Also refer to George and Gyatt for background to these events - George and Gyatt. *Publication of Political Organisations in Queensland*. 1983.

[47] "Learning exchange". Brisbane [one page leaflet] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.early 1973], and *Learning Exchange Newsletter. City Learning Exchange*. Brisbane [one page leaflet] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.August 1973]

[48] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.48. According to Altman, the Aquarius festival was influenced by Woodstock in the United States. Also, while it was not the first festival of its type, it was the largest and most popularised one to date at that time - Altman. "The counter-culture". 1977. p.456. According to Metcalf, the earlier and smaller festivals were rock concerts: later festivals changed the focus to the back-to-the earth endeavour. Metcalf. *Dropping out and staying in*. 1986. p.120.

[49] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.48-50.

movement to escape consumer-oriented urban society.[50] One expression of this was to 'follow the hippy trail'. This trail led up the southern coast of Australia, and extended over to Indonesia, Malaysia, India, and Nepal. Cock describes this phenomenon as a transient population of young people moving between urban and rural 'crash-pads'. The alternative movement centres serviced the 'drop outs'.[51] In urban centres, many communal households were available as temporary accommodation for the transient population. In rural settings, the few permanent residents were often outweighed numerically by the transient visitors.

In all these instances, an underlying theme was the assertion of humanist perspectives for addressing alienation, and to ensure all human endeavours reflected the capacity for self-actualisation. However this wide range of activities reflected two distinct tendencies.[52] The *political* tendency aimed to transform interpersonal and social relationships throughout society. At an interpersonal level, this transformation process was to begin with oneself and extend to relationships with others, in all aspects of social life. At a social level, the aim was to collectively transform society through mass movements dedicated to publicly challenging the social order. The *lifestyle* tendency refers to the endeavour to gain control over the personal life-world, through engaging in a lifestyle which supported their disengagement from (industrial) society. Cock, in speaking of political collectivities in the late 1960s and early 1970s, proposes that these lifestyles practices constituted attempts to reduce dependence upon the Corporate State, and to provide support to others with the same aims.[53] Thus, 'dropping out' was a means of separating oneself from the system.

This distinction between the two tendencies has significance for this thesis, as it reflects an increasingly separate expression of these two preoccupations, and ultimately contributing to

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[50] Altman claims their main radical potential was the anti-consumerist attitude - Altman. "The counter-culture". 1977. p.457.

[51] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.23-28.

[52] The following typology supports Munro-Clarke's distinction between political activists which aimed to "change social institutions themselves (by direct confrontation of some kind)" and lifestyle rebels which worked through small groups and individuals "to eradicate the motivational patterns associated with those institutions" - Munro-Clarke. "Rural communitarianism in the post-Vietnam years". 1984. pp.83-84.

[53] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.53-92.

quite distinct environmental projects.[54] The remainder of this chapter addresses the life-style tendency, with specific reference to Cock's identification of 'alternative Australia' and Munro-Clarke's 'communitarianism in Australia'.[55] It specifically focuses, however, upon what Cock would refer to as the rural alternatives rather than the urban ones. The alternative community movement essentially emerged from this land-based rural endeavour, and it is the focus of the environmental project under analysis in this chapter.[56]

## THE RUSTIC IDEAL AND PRAXIS

This section addresses the formation of the alternative community movement. It argues that the orientation of this movement was underpinned by what this thesis refers to as the *rustic ideal*. The rustic ideal had two dimensions arising from the orientation of the movement. These were the endeavours to gain control over the life-world, and to end the dichotomy between humanity and nature. This section first addresses the life-world dimension and the endeavour to disengage from the industrial society. The basis upon which ecological issues were posed as a 'problem' is then addressed, with reference to the humanist critique of industrial society and then specifically in relation to the emerging alternative community movement. This section shows that the rustic ideal was the praxis of this movement.

### constructing the life-world

The libertarian and socialist traditions, together with new introspective psychology, offered new approaches to human emancipation and self-actualisation. This was a humanist perspective in opposition to the formalism of bureaucratic society. For many participants, the

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[54] 'Ultimately', as ecological concerns were not the central preoccupation of the counter-culture in the 1960s. This came later with the rise of the environmental movement in the early 1970s.

[55] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979 and Munro-Clarke. "Rural communitarianism in the post-Vietnam years". 1984.

[56] Cock identifies two sets of urban 'alternatives'. Political collectivities came from the late 1960s anti-war movement, while 'bourgeois urban communities' generally formed from encounter groups and those seeking alternatives to the nuclear family. He also identifies two sets of 'rural alternatives'. The earlier 'rural survival communities were dedicated to obtaining means of survival separate from the system. The 'bourgeois rural co-operatives' were more willing to compromise, in their readiness to interface with the 'system' through, for instance, attempting to establish a legal basis for the communities - Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979.

key to creating personal authenticity was to recreate a life-world for themselves in which this could develop. The eventual formation of rural communities, noted by several commentators, was an expression of this endeavour.[57] The formation of rural communities was:

> only one expression of a movement among that generation to withdraw from conventional forms of social participation in the quest for an authentic response to their own understanding of their time.[58]

According to Munro-Clarke those who participated in this movement wanted to reassert more control their lives, as well as imbue their lives with more meaning.[59]

Participation in the 'hippy trail' can be in part explained by this quest for personal authenticity, as can both the urban collective living arrangements and the wave of squatting communities outside urban centres in relatively isolated natural environments, over the 1970s. These settlements were initially primarily situated in northern New South Wales near Byron Bay, and in northern Queensland, particularly Kuranda, Cedar Bay, and around Cairns.[60] As Cock points out, the settlements evolved out of discussions and sporadic attempts to restructure personal lives, rather than a concerted collective decision to embark on this course. It was characterised by a transient population and impermanent domestic arrangements. By the early 1970s this first wave of squatting communities had proved inadequate for many participants, primarily because of the transience of the participants and lack of organisation.[61] For instance, Barran Falls near Kuranda was the longest lasting and frequented by thousands of transient travellers. However, its viability was undermined by the individualism of the participants which contributed little to promoting the survival of the

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[57] Cock refers to 'alternative Australia' - Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. Metcalf refers to 'alternative lifestyles' - Metcalf. *Dropping Out and Staying In*. 1986 and Metcalf. "Anarchy and bureaucracy within the alternative lifestyle movement." 1987. Munro-Clarke refers to 'communitarianism' - Munro-Clarke. "Rural communitarianism in the post-Vietnam years". 1984. All three point out continuities with earlier movements but also recognise that the New Left and social dissent precipitated this particular wave.

[58] Munro-Clarke. "Rural communitarianism in the post-Vietnam years". 1984. p.60.

[59] Munro-Clarke. "Rural communitarianism in the post-Vietnam years". 1984. p.82.

[60] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.28.

[61] Cock discusses the lack of financial maintenance and commitment: newcomers were needed for the income they could bring - Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.22-27.

community itself, in organisational and other pragmatic terms.[62] In addition, some squatting communities, including the renown Cedar Bay and Lameroo Beach, were destroyed by police action.[63]

In the early 1970s, more organised attempts to disengage from industrial society began in earnest. Those seeking 'alternative lifestyles' began to cluster in specific geographical regions to build a more enduring basis for asserting control over their own life-world. The Tuntable Falls Co-ordination Co-operative Limited, established after the 1973 Aquarius Festival, represented a new model for rural land-based communities. The establishment of property-based communities, often involving complex legal ownership arrangements, was a significant development, since the first one in the early 1970s at Tuntable Falls. A range of communities were established throughout Australia throughout the 1970s, primarily outside the major metropolitan centres.[64] In the northeastern region of Australia, settlements were established principally in the north east New South Wales hinterland, in what become known as 'the Rainbow region' of Nimbin and Mullumbimby. In Queensland, the Atherton Tablelands and Yeppoon also attracted many seeking community life to pursue 'alternative lifestyles'. The Sunshine Coast hinterland was the main settlement site in southeast Queensland, particularly around the township of Maleny. By the early 1980s, participation in this movement had been estimated at about 15,000 in Queensland out of 60,000 Australia-wide.[65]

This move to establish formal communities represented the start of what this thesis refers to as the alternative community movement. In contrast to the individualist squatting communities, the alternative community movement constituted the collective, rural land-based endeavour, aimed at disengagement from industrial society and the construction of an

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[62] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.25-26.

[63] Drug raids were a frequent problem for these settlements - see Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.26-28 and Ross Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*. 1984. p.571.

[64] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.121.

[65] This estimate does not quite correspond with the parameters set for this thesis, but nonetheless is a good indicator of participation numbers - W.J. Metcalf and F.M. Vanclay. *Social Characteristics of Alternative Lifestyle Participants in Australia*. Report to Office of Youth Affairs, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet [Institute of Applied Social Research. Griffith University. 1985. pp.63-64.

alternative one.

**the social dimension of the rustic ideal**

In rejecting industrial society, Cock notes the quest to return to an idealised simple life:

> The alternative seekers looked not to their parents but their grandparents who appeared to be free of the effects of mass media and the mass society. Their grandmothers told them how they used to make their own clothes, grow their own vegetables, use folk medicine and ride a bicycle or a horse. They appealed to the youthful alternative seekers as individuals who struggled authentically with the basis of their relatively autonomous lives. In many ways, the contemporary search for alternatives was an attempt to return man [sic] to his basics. The original ideals of human development and social cooperation, caring and sharing, had become corrupted by the material over-development of the Corporate State.[66]

The *Grassroots* publication was set up in 1972 to service this growing interest in a more simple life. It was aimed towards those "who wish[ed] to regain control over their lifestyles by exploring the alternatives to modern mass consumption."[67] A 'mythic' past was invented, in the search for an alternative to the present.[68] Docker refers to the attempts to recreate pre-industrial lifestyles, for overcoming personal alienation and the alienation of humanity from the rest of the natural world:

> [The] medievalist tradition of looking to pre-industrial culture for nature-humanity harmony and social ideal of sharing, cooperation, and communality.[69]

For example, the aims of the Tuntable Falls community reflected these concerns about gaining control over their 'lifestyles'. The proposal for the community stated that the aims were to:

> help set up and co-ordinate a new community of persons living and working together on common property in a total environment of discovering, learning and perfecting modes of living, works of art, forms of communication, methods of awareness and

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[66] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.23.

[67] The inside front page by the editors of *Grassroots*.

[68] Touraine discusses the tendency of movements, at least initially, to look for proto-types from the past as alternatives to the unsatisfactory present - Alain Touraine. *The Voice and the Eye*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. 1981. pp.18-20. The rustic alternative was mythic in that it was idealised: the suffering and inequalities which characterised agrarian society were overlooked in favour of focusing upon what were considered desirable characteristics.

[69] Docker. "'Those halcyon days'". 1988. p.297.

skills of cultivation, crafts and construction.[70]

According to Cock, underlying this rural endeavour were the two philosophical pillars of personal power and community power.[71] *Personal power* refers to a range of issues connected to self-actualisation. To participants in this movement, the prevailing order construed humanity to be "plastic to be moulded to the dictates of society", and with instincts that must be 'civilised' or suppressed.[72] An alternative and humanist view, developed in the counter-culture and pursued by the lifestyles movement, was that of a humanity "actively trying to satisfy his [sic] needs and develop his [sic] capacities", in the search for self-actualisation: "man [sic] is a whole being, dynamic in nature and free in potential".[73] Accordingly, personal power involved freedom from prescribed social roles, sexual liberation, spiritual growth and self-transcendence.

Personal power also involved creating ones own life-world through dealing with real (material) needs. This involved producing goods and providing services without recourse to the abstractions of the money economy and the conventional workplace. The process of production aimed to be an intrinsically meaningful and purposeful activity, to satisfy 'real' material needs, and also to express creativity and control of one's work experience:[74]

> The struggle to put things right must come from within. The questions we ask are not answered by the System. The things worth doing are those of the counterculture, outside of the System. It only has use for us as cogs in a machine, in spite of the obvious fact that the machine is providing too much ... There is no point in following a role ... The only thing worth doing is only what you yourself could do, and no other. It isn't worth wasting a lifetime on a role. That is why the future belongs to drop-outs. It is a rotten system, and it is already doomed ... When you produce your own, you will find that the bread and honey and eggs and milk are tastier than anything you could buy. So even on its own materialistic terms, the System gives you

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[70] David Spain. "Tuntable Falls". *Grassroots*. no.3. 1973. p.11.7

[71] Cock uses this model in relation to all communities within his study. However it also applies to the communities discussed in this thesis.

[72] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.207.

[73] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.206-07.

[74] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.206-07.

> third-rate, the shoddy and the ephemeral.[75]

Thus disengagement from industrial society was sought as a means for gaining control over the life-world and experiencing personal power.[76]

The notion of *community power* reflected the interdependence needed "to achieve and sustain personal power".[77] Accordingly, community power involved building good quality relationships with others, based on trust, sharing and cooperation, rather than possessiveness, isolation and competition. Community power also involved the endeavour to end the fragmentation of one's life into different roles, such as work, family, and leisure, in favour of integrating them. It further involved an expression of the need to belong to a larger community, without sacrificing personal autonomy and control over the life-world. The emphasis on small-scale social units and decentralised social organisation reflected the attempt to express both personal and community power. Thus decentralisation was a fundamental value of the community, to avoid hierarchy, specialisation, and impersonality.[78] The reproduction of the 'new society' was, accordingly, to be achieved through the multiplication of small social units and not their enlargement:

> Alternative seekers were committed to a conception of equality that derived from restrictions on how big a group could become, and depended upon continual efforts to maintain power at grassroots level. Small group control, rather than attempts of Labor Governments to redistribute income and wealth, was their basis of equality.[79]

Apart from issues of social organisation, the value placed upon the small- or human-scale was also central to technology-related issues. The technologies favoured for domestic use and production were largely the pre-industrial rural technologies which fostered craftspersonship

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[75] This statement was made by the initiators of the Lost World, a youth hostel aiming to promote 'alternative lifestyles', bordering on Lamington National Park in southeast Queensland. They identified with the alternative community movement - see Keith Smith and Irene Smith. *The Earth Garden Book. Self-Sufficiency in Australia*. Thomas Nelson and Sons. London. 1975. p.7.

[76] Cock notes that although this was the aim, it was not always successfully put into practice - Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.215-24.

[77] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.224.

[78] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.224-28.

[79] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979 p.226.

and subsistence agriculture, rather than contemporary, large-scale and high energy-consumption forms. The front pages of *Grassroots* were indicative of the value given to small- or human-scale technologies.[80] Front covers of the journal depict people utilising rural-based small-scale technology, for instance, milking a goat by hand, a horse-drawn coach as a means of transport, bullocks for pulling and carting, a hand wheel operated sewing machine for cobbling, and a hand-made hydro-power generator.[81] This emphasis upon pre-industrial technologies did not necessarily preclude adoption of some appropriate contemporary technologies, particularly those involving generation of energy, as evidenced in *Earth Garden* and *Grassroots*.

The rural settlement movement was not unique to this period. There were earlier waves in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Nor were these contemporary settlements unique to Australia. They were part of a wider phenomenon in many Western industrialised nations, particularly in Britain and United states.[82] The contemporary wave reflected a wider wave of disenchantment with contemporary society. Social commentators of that time, including Roszak, Schumacher, and Illich were influential for their articulation of the disenchantment and social alienation experienced by many.[83] Illich and Schumacher focused upon issues of scale and complexity with respect to social organisation and technology, as factors contributing to the experience of powerlessness by many in contemporary society. Both advocated small-scale social units and appropriate technology, typified by Schumacher's phrase, 'small is beautiful'.

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[80] Metcalf points out that several movement journals such as *Earth Garden* and *Grassroots* had a wide readership amongst rural-community dwellers - Metcalf. "Dropping out and staying in". 1986. pp.255-257.

[81] Issue nos.4, no.7, no.19, no.23, and no.24, respectively. Although, as Metcalf notes, these publications are more concerned with practical advice than philosophical discussion - Metcalf. "Dropping out and staying in". 1986. p.120. This practical emphasis was understandable in that only about 2% of community dwellers had previous rural experience - Peter Cock. "Sustaining the alternative culture? The drift towards rural suburbia". *Social Alternatives*. vol.4, no.4. 1985. p.13.

[82] Munro-Clarke discusses these earlier Australian waves, as well as the overseas ones - Munro-Clarke. "Rural communitarianism in the post-Vietnam years". 1984. pp.49-53.

[83] Refer to: Theodore Roszak. *Where the Wasteland Ends. Politics and Transcendence in Postindustrial Society*. Anchor Books. Doubleday and Co. Ltd. Gordon City, New York. 1973, E.F. Schumacher. *Small is Beautiful. A Study of Economics as if People Mattered*. Blond and Briggs Ltd. London. 1973, and Ivan Illich. *Celebration of Awareness. A Call for Institutional Revolution. Harmondsworth*. Penguin Education. 1973 and Ivan Illich. *Tools for Conviviality*. Calder and Boyars. London. 1973.

Schumacher was also critical of the relationship between humanity and the rest of the natural world in contemporary society, "modern man [sic] does not experience himself as part of nature but as an outside force destined to dominate and conquer it".[84] He proposed that this problem contributed to ecological crises through, for instance, the unbridled consumption of our ecological 'capital'. The relationship between the alienation of humanity in contemporary industrial society and the alienation of humanity from nature signalled the ecological other dimension of the rustic ideal.

**the ecological dimension of the rustic ideal**

Ecological issues had a presence in the late 1960s and early 1970s counter-culture, mainly through the conservation movement and Friends of the Earth.[85] The mid-1960s saw growing public dissent about the increasingly apparent impact upon the environment of urbanisation and economic development, as discussed in Chapter Three. Groups formed to protest what was considered to be unacceptable damage to the natural environment. Moreover, from the mid-1960s environmental degradation attendant upon the post-war climate of rapid economic expansion had been noted with some alarm internationally. Following the initiative of the 1965 Ecological Society, many commentators forecast imminent doom for human society and the natural world if warnings about environmental limits were not heeded.[86] These early commentators were critical of the growth economy, industrial society, and the prevailing democratic mechanisms for dealing with this environmental issues. In the early 1970s the

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[84] Schumacher. *Small is Beautiful*. 1973. p.11.

[85] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.224. Background information provided in Friends of the Earth. "Thinking of joining Friends of the Earth?" Brisbane. [four page leaflet] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.mid-1970s]. The national level of this organisation publishes the journal, *Chain Reaction*. Also see conservation groups in Chapter Three: Preservation of Nature.

[86] The 1965 Conference of the Ecological Society of America agreed upon a formal resolution to publicly raise their concern about this issue. Commentators such as Commoner, Ehrlich and Ehrlich, Mishan, Daley, and Pirages and Ehrlich produced publications forecasting imminent doom for human civilisation if environmental limits were not heeded. While having different analyses of the problems, for the most part they attributed the problem to economic growth in industrial society, upon which the economy and state apparatus were dependent - see Herman E. Daley. *Towards a Steady-State Economy*. W.H.Freeman. San Francisco. 1973, Barry Commoner. *The Closing Circle*. Cape. London. 1972, Paul Ehrlich and Anne Ehrlich. *Population, Resources, Environment: Issues in Human Ecology*. W.H.Freeman. San Francisco. 1970, E.J. Mishan. *The Costs of Economic Growth*. Staples Press. London. 1967, and Denis C. Pirages and Paul Ehrlich. *Ark II. Social Response to Environmental Imperatives*. W.H.Freeman. San Francisco. 1974.

campaign to save Lake Pedder in Tasmania spurred support for preservation of the environment.[87]

However, the expression of ecological concerns in the counter-culture were shaped by the orientation and critique of industrial society. The problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes was posed in terms of the artificial dichotomy created between humanity and nature, which was endemic to western science and the rationalism of industrial society.[88] The two facets of this dichotomy had repercussions for the expression of the ecological dimension of the rustic ideal.

One facet was reflected in the endeavour to achieve self-actualisation, in which the breach between humanity and nature was seen as detrimental to the development and experience of the individual. There were many approaches adopted for healing this apparent breach. One was the interest in holistic and natural medicine, and spiritual and psychological therapies. These medical approaches were seen as healing the whole person, mind, body, and soul, and allowing the 'natural' self to be expressed. Related to these preoccupations were practices involving getting in touch with one's own body and corporeal experience, through body awareness and sexuality. Another approach was through the proliferation of food-cooperatives and outlets established to sell organic and unprocessed food. These were indications of the attempts to return mind and body back to a state of harmony with nature.[89]

The other facet of the artificial dichotomy between nature and humanity was the propensity of industrial society to reduce humanity and the rest of the natural world to the status of objects without intrinsic worth. This lack of 'respect' for nature was considered a major factor which enabled the continued abuse of the natural (non-human) environment. Thus social transformation was the means by which the environment would be healed. For

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[87] See Chapter Three: Moral Protest Against Impact of Development.

[88] Margaret Munro-Clarke. "Modernity, individualism and the impulse to withdraw". Margaret Munro-Clarke. ed. *Communes in Rural Australia. The Movement Since 1970*. Hale and Ironmonger. Sydney. 1984. p.28.

[89] See Altman and Docker for discussions of these activities and preoccupations - Altman. "The counter-culture". 1977. p.456 and Docker. "'Those halcyon days'". 1988. p.296. Note, though, the slightly different interpretation by this thesis about the significance of these developments. While Altman and Docker refer to their humanist basis, this study draws attention to the implied critique of the human/nature relationship.

instance, a branch of Friends of the Earth was established in Brisbane in 1973, with the aim of preserving the Australian natural environment and "stimulat[ing] a movement towards an ecologically stable and self-managed society".[90] This position indicated the causal link that was made between the alienation of humanity and the destruction of the natural environment in industrial society.

Ecological issues were thus shaped by the humanist perspective of the apparent dichotomy between humanity and nature in industrial society. This perception was expressed by the emerging alternative community movement in relation to the construction of the life-world. In some instances, alternative community movement participants chose to defend specific regions from unwelcome human intervention. One strategy was to support the growing number of conservation groups, by becoming members. Another strategy was direct occupation of the environmentally sensitive sites under threat of development.[91]

A more significant expression of ecological issues however was the commitment to 'living with nature'. Spending time in the (non-human) natural environment was encouraged as a means for ending the destructive dichotomy between humanity and nature. This intention was initially signalled by transient populations aiming to spent time in natural environments, and the location of meeting points for the lifestyle participants in aesthetically pleasant natural areas such as the tropical forests and beaches of Cedar Bay, north of Cooktown in Queensland.[92] The communities were necessarily long distances from urban centres to emphasise the intention to become a separate and new society. In addition, however, the locations chosen outside urban centres involved the deliberate placement of self in a natural environment. For instance, the Tuntable Falls Co-ordination Co-operative Limited established

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[90] Friends of the Earth was an international anarchist organisation, with branches established in many countries - George and Gyatt. *Publication of Political Organisations in Queensland*. 1983. p.141.

[91] A good example is the support given by the lifestyle participants to Terania Creek and Nightcap campaigns to oppose logging: these strategies were to have long term repercussions - see Chapter Three: Consolidation of the New Conservation Movement (footnote). Indications of this support were present through the newsletters associated with the movement. On a broader scale, the alternative community movement also supported the 1983 Tasmanian River blockade - see "Sunshine News updates and calls for involvement". *Sunshine News*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. no.121, 2 December 1982. p.6.

[92] Cock points out that this geographically isolated area was visited by thousands of transient visitors following the 'hippy trail' - see Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.26-27.

in the early 1970s saw itself as an experiment dedicated to "liv[ing] in harmony with nature and with ourselves with love and understanding".[93] The rationale for their choice of land site for the community included pragmatic factors such as soil fertility and rainfall, but also that there were "lots of trees ... so we can live amongst a natural environment". Reference was made to a valley on the property in which, "the huge cliff face of the Falls stands like a mysterious screen in the deep wall of mountains that cradle the valley".[94] Another proposed community, Moora Moora, sought for their community site:

> an undulating piece of bushland. We will aim to preserve and enhance the site so that we may live surrounded by the sights and sounds of nature. All buildings and works will blend in with the environment as much as possible and we will clear as little land as necessary, and replant where there has been previous clearing, so that native species of birds and mammals will live near us.[95]

Living with nature also entailed a responsibility towards its preservation and healing, as the above example shows. Another example of this attitude is represented in one aim of the Tuntable Falls Co-ordination Co-operative Limited, which was to:

> appreciate the beautiful surroundings in which we live, harming neither flora nor fauna by direct or indirect action such as polluting creeks and dams and depositing litter or by harming any living thing or damaging any part of the natural environment.[96]

Munro-Clarke refers to the 'earth-care' preoccupation in local community publications and in national journals such as *Grassroots, Earth Garden*, and *Good Earth* which serviced this growing movement.[97] 'Earth-care' referred to practices which aimed at both healing the earth and preventing further harm. Central to 'earth-care' were choices about appropriate technology and lifestyle practices:

> *Earth Garden* presents a range of natural lifestyles. It is intended as a key to sources, practical ideas, alternatives and self-sufficiency. *Earth Garden* is concerned with non-polluted living and growing, the back-to-earth-movement, surviving in the city, the bush, food and diet and the inner changes which follow when you are in tune with

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[93] Quoted in Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.121.

[94] "Tuntable Falls". *Grassroots*. no.3. 1973. p.117.

[95] "Moora Moora". *Grassroots*. no.4. 1973. p.29.

[96] Quoted in Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.121.

[97] Munro-Clarke. "Rural communitarianism in the post-Vietnam years". 1984. p.56.

Nature.[98]

A continuing pragmatic and ecological issue was energy sources. Animals were proposed for heavy work as well as small-scale hand, wind, water, or solar-generated power sources.[99] These were characterised as small-scale, simple 'accessible' technologies, which also fulfilled the criteria of manageability by its users.

**the rustic ideal and praxis**

What united these participants in an otherwise diverse and geographically scattered movement was the common purpose of the rustic ideal. This sense of common purpose was apparent in the existence and support for journals such as *Grassroots* and *Earth Garden*.[100] Both these journals made explicit reference to self-sufficiency goals within a framework of back-to-the earth ideals. The banner on the front page of the first edition of *Grassroots* read "craft and life-style magazine for down to earth people", but was changed by the seventh issue to "craft and self-sufficiency for down to earth people". The special edition *Earth Garden Book* published in 1975 was sub-titled 'self-sufficiency in Australia'. Both journals aimed to provide mechanisms for sharing information and ideas across the readership. *Grassroots* had a regular item, 'Link-up', to facilitate communication between people interested in participating in communities. Also there were invitations placed in the journals encouraging readers to buy shares and participate in proposed communities, such as the Moora Moora Community.[101]

However, participation in this movement was not on the basis of membership in an organisation, nor were participants engaged in establishing programs or demands. Participation in the movement was on the basis of practicing the way of life, referred to in

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[98] Front inside page of Smith and Smith. *The Earth Garden Book. Self-Sufficiency in Australia*. 1975.

[99] These themes are raised in virtually every issue of *Grassroots* and *Earth Garden* throughout the 1970s.

[100] Metcalf and Vanclay propose that about 50% of alternative lifestyle participants read these two publications, and further, that "such publications not only serve but are part of the alternative lifestyle movement" - Metcalf and Vanclay. *Participation in Alternative Lifestyles in Australia*. 1984. pp.12-15.

[101] "Moora Moora". *Grassroots*. no.4. 1973. p.29.

this thesis as the rustic ideal. Thus a central characteristic of this movement was *praxis*: bringing about the alternative society entailed living out the rustic ideal, as an end in itself. This notion of praxis reflects similar observations made about contemporary movements more generally. For instance, Melucci states that participants in these movements are the "nomads of the present", intent upon living the social relationships in the here and now which constitute the proposed future.[102]

In terms of the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes, the praxis of the alternative community movement was the resolution. Praxis of the rustic ideal thus ultimately formed the basis of the environmental project of the alternative community movement. However, as the following section indicates, this notion was only ever an ideal: it was never expressed in real terms as effectively as the movement participants had hoped. Moreover through the 1980s a range of factors altered the course of the alternative community movement. Nonetheless the ideal remained the guiding principle and concern, especially as debates in the environmental movement from the mid-1970s gained public attention and support.

## THE CHANGING EXPRESSION OF THE RUSTIC IDEAL

This section addresses the changing expression of the rustic ideal throughout the 1980s. Three facets are identified for explaining the changing character of the alternative community movement - the redefinition of *community* to a broader concept, the engagement by the movement with government authorities and other conventional bodies for dealing with a range of legal, regulatory, and financial viability issues, and lastly, the increasing emphasis upon the ecological plank of the rustic ideal. This section also addresses the implications of these changes for the environmental project of the alternative community movement.

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[102] This is Melucci's phrase, and the subtitle to his publication on contemporary social movements - Alberto Melucci. *Nomads of the Present. Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society*. Temple University Press. Philadelphia. 1989.

**redefining community**

The initial purpose for what was to become the alternative community movement was the disengagement from industrial society and the formation of a new society based on the rustic ideal. However, there were limitations to the achievement of disengagement, and for the communal lifestyle aimed at achieving personal and community power. While the central significance of community remained, it was redefined over the 1970-80s to mean a more general kind of community than the rural-based commune. Moreover there were more attempts to integrate with the wider 'conventional' community.

One contributing factor for this redefinition of community was the internal social dynamics of the rural communities. Cock and Metcalf draw attention to the increasing gap between the original humanist and ecological aspirations of the movement participants and what had actually been achieved by the early 1980s.[103] Metcalf suggests that there was a rise of bureaucratic processes within the communities, for dealing with the internal organisation and decision-making matters. This led to an increased dependence upon formal rules and decision-making processes, particularly in the absence of the charismatic leadership of the early 1970s.[104] Cock is concerned with the "the decline of community cohesion" which he considers to have undermined the capacity of the communities to persist. He claims that forms of organisation which were alternatives to bureaucratic ones did not successfully eventuate, and many participants were little inclined to participate in the difficulties of shared decision-making. He suggested that this attitude contributed to the loss of cohesion:

> The denial of accountability and interdependence within the group strips the community of the necessary power to confront the difficult issues of community life.[105]

The undermining of cohesion within the communities had repercussions in the form of a reduced long-term viability for the communities and the failure to anticipate and hence

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[103] Cock. "Sustaining the alternative culture?" 1985 and Metcalf. "Anarchy and bureaucracy within the alternative lifestyle movement". 1987.

[104] Metcalf. "Anarchy and bureaucracy within the alternative lifestyle movement". 1987.

[105] Cock. "Sustaining the alternative culture?" 1985. p.14.

cooperate to achieve good environmental outcomes for the community as a whole.[106] Thus, within the rural communities there was a shift towards privatisation at odds with the original intentions of community.

Another factor contributing to the redefinition of community was the inability or unwillingness of many participants to make a full-time commitment to the rural commune. A decade after the first formal rural community at Tuntable Falls, many share-holders still remained based in urban centres, visiting in the rural communities only for weekends or intermittently for short periods. Many other participants lived in the rural community but worked in the conventional work-force,[107] either in conventional employment, or in small-scale co-operatives and small businesses servicing the community dwellers. A major factor contributing to this state of affairs was financial: as land prices soared, financing became increasingly difficult. In addition, financial problems proliferated as the communities were often undercapitalised and the participants needed an alternative source of income to support the lifestyle.[108] Yet another factor was the varying levels of commitment to the communities and alternative lifestyles.[109]

The redefinition of community was, in addition, signalled by the persisting and growing urban presence of the alternative community movement.[110] In part, this presence was comprised of the part-time participants in the rural communities.[111] However more than

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[106] Cock. "Sustaining the alternative culture?" 1985. pp.13-14.

[107] Metcalf notes that about 20% of those involved in what he refers to as 'alternative lifestyles' worked in conventional professional jobs, while many others worked in other kinds of employment year-round or intermittently. Metcalf. "Dropping out and staying in". 1986. p.179.

[108] Cock. "Sustaining the alternative culture?" 1985. p.13. Cock also notes that one of the many problems for the early communities was that they were under-resourced - Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.236.

[109] Cock notes a range of issues which determined the success or failure of the communities. Amongst these was the problem of individualism versus community, and the varied extent to which participants were prepared to eschew services, resources, and opportunities in conventional society - Cock. *Alternative Australia*. pp.231-255.

[110] Bearing in mind that, as Cock notes, in urban centres there were already 'students houses', 'bourgeois communes', and 'political collectives' - see Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. However this thesis focuses upon the direct continuities with the ideal to be separate from the 'system'.

[111] Metcalf discusses issues of commitment which were difficult to develop in secular communities. He claims that failure to secure sufficient commitment from participants was "largely responsible for the observed tendency for secular communities to evolve into co-operatives" - Metcalf. "Dropping out and staying in". 1986. p.381.

that, it signalled the growing interest in developing alternative lifestyles based on the rustic ideal within an urban setting. Clearly, some participants in the movement intended to remain in an urban setting, as indicated by the establishment of several housing co-operatives Brisbane and the Sunshine Coast through the 1980s. These housing co-operatives were based on the premise that housing is a "right for all", and that co-operatives "work as a whole towards the good of the group, as well as the community". The Brisbane groups attracted funding from the Local Government and Community Housing Program for initial purchase funds.[112]

There were other indications of a commitment to building a redefined form of community in the urban setting. In early 1982, the Cambridge Street Festival was held in Brisbane, organised by:

> a group of people concerned with community gardening, recycling, solar, community activities and education to bring about a simpler community-based way of life, in the middle of the city (what rat-race?).[113]

The 'community-based way of life' indicated a different meaning for community in this urban context:

> You don't have to live on a commune to be part of a community. A community is any group of people who share - goals, ideals, working bees, food co-ops, transport ... a sustainable lifestyle could be defined as environmentally, economically, and socially sound.[114]

Moreover, the *Alternative Community Directory* compiled in 1991 listed rural-based communes such as Mandala, Equanimity and Crystal Waters Permaculture Village. It also listed qualitatively different kinds of 'communities' - for example, the Web Incorporated, a group of about 40 members, dedicated to the development of appropriate enterprises and

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[112] "A housing co-operative for Maleny." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 2nd Quarter. vol.1. no.2. 1990. pp.6-7.

[113] "Cambridge Street Festival". *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. March. 1982. p.4.

[114] Promotional article about the Australian Association of Sustainable Communities - "Australian Association of Sustainable Communities". *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. June. 1984. pp.10-11.

economic viability in Brisbane.[115]

Movement infrastructure to support the movement also reflected this wider definition of community. The emergence of markets, bartering systems, festivals, and publications endeavoured to express the rustic ideal through the provision of resources and information to facilitate the praxis of the rustic ideal. Moreover, these movement developments were shaped by a concern to facilitate personal and community power in their mode of operation, as much as possible, and justified on that basis. On that basis, *cooperation* was a key element of community, facilitated through human-scale social units.

Regional and local newsletters were produced to service communication, information, and resources of the movement participant. In southeast Queensland *Down to Earth*, published since 1976, continued to have a wide readership.[116] It was one of the regional newsletters of the national Down to Earth organisation, which described its readership and producers as participants in an 'alternative society':

> The 'alternative society' movement is a large collection of individuals and organisations, all seeking to effect a change for the better, both in people and in society ... All wish for a new age when the world's problems and inequalities would vanish and be replaced by a humane society.[117]

*Sunshine News* was produced to service the Sunshine Coast and hinterland movement. This informal publication also linked the movement with the wider Australian alternative community movement. The local newsletters were participatory, inviting submissions from all interested persons. Moreover, through the 1980s electronic communications were established, facilitated by Pegasus Networks established in Byron Bay, NSW. This computer

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[115] Jo-Anne Ferreira. *Alternative Communities Directory*. Produced in association with Down to Earth, the Knowledge Base, the WEB. Author's collection. 1991. This more general definition of 'community' was also evident in the special edition of *Social Alternatives* which featured a series of articles by participants in the alternative community movement. For instance, see Meg Barrett. "Wimmin's work." *Social Alternatives*. vol.10. no.3. 1991. pp.23-24, Michael Gow. "Being there." *Social Alternatives*. vol.10. no.3. 1991. pp.12-14, Jill Jordan. "Economics is community business." *Social Alternatives*. vol.10. no.3. 1991. pp.31-32, Margi O'Connell. "Community economics." *Social Alternatives*. vol.10. no.3. 1991. pp.9-11, Janet Skrand. "Local energy created out of unemployment." *Social Alternatives*. vol.10. no.3. 1991. pp.15-17, and Paul Wildman. "Creative unemployment: a role for governments?" *Social Alternatives*. vol.10. no.3. 1991. pp.27-28.

[116] In 1979, the editors of *Down to Earth* estimated its readership at approximately 2,000 - see *Down to Earth*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. October. 1979. p.2.

[117] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. November. 1979. p.16.

network provided a communication and information sharing system within and between community participants at local, state, national, and international levels.[118]

In support of the redefined community, a range of festivals were held to provide workshops for skill development and information sharing, as well as personal growth. The [national] Down to Earth Festival was convened in 1976, three years after the Aquarius Festival. It was reconvened in 1977 and 1979,[119] and every year thereafter (and still continues).[120] There were one or more regional festivals held each year over the late 1970-80s, with many different themes and purposes. In southeast Queensland they were generally convened in the Sunshine Coast hinterland, and included the Yandina Good Life, Queensland Spring Festival at Beaudesert, and the Sunshine Community. These festivals were often involved participatory organisation, inviting cooperation and support from people to provide facilitating skills and workshop expertise. For instance, the Queensland Spring Festival held at Cedar Glen near Beaudesert 25-30 August 1979, invited volunteers to be "group experience focalisers".[121] Cultural activities also flourished, such as the Butter Factory Co-operative in Kin Kin which provided a market, and film and cultural events, "it was an attempt to provide by local co-operators to explore the philosophy of co-operation on larger scale in the community."[122]

A range of regular markets also flourished. In the late 1970s and early 1980s the Closeburn and Dayborough markets were held on the outskirts of Brisbane, and a short-lived market of a similar kind was held in the Paddington-Red Hill suburbs of Brisbane. In the hinterland, there were on-going markets at Montville, Kin Kin, Eumundi, Mooloolaba Magoo, and

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[118] Australian Association of Sustainable Communities. "Networking through AASC". [four page leaflet] Author's collection [c.1989], and Pegasus Networks. "Join the Communications Revolution". [four page promotional brochure] Author's collection. [c.1990].

[119] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.49.

[120] It was promoted in the *Down to Earth Newsletter* throughout the 1980s and 1990s. This newsletter is held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland.

[121] "Queensland Spring Festival". *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. July. 1979. p.6. There are also references to these festivals and workshops throughout *Down to Earth* and *Sunshine News*. Both held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland.

[122] "Agni Farm Co-op Community". *The Co-operative Times*. Author's collection. March-April. 1984. p.9.

Mapleton.[123] Bartering was an important part of life in this movement, not least because of the chronic cash flow problems, but also to minimise involvement with the money economy. In the late 1980s a system was formalised to aid the bartering process, the LETS system, meaning Local Employment Training Scheme. It was a non-profit organisation to support trading and exchange for individuals, and other groups active in the community:[124]

> LETS has the potential to assist the local community both socially and environmentally: socially by helping people to get to know, trust and help each other; environmentally by encouraging people to satisfy their needs from within the local community.[125]

These characteristics of the movement reflected the changing definition of community, while retaining the emphasis on the rustic ideal. However another factor affecting the character of the alternative community movement had been a range of legal, regulatory, and financial viability issues, and the subsequent engagement with the system and authorities to deal with them. Financial viability issues had also contributed to a redefinition of community.

**economic viability**

With the start of the back to-the-land rural schemes came a host of problems for the community participants. One issue was an on-going problem with funding to establish these communities, a perennial problem since the first community at Tuntable Falls. Funding was difficult to generate and banks were not forthcoming in loaning money to even registered co-operative communities.[126] Appeals were made to state and federal governments for loans and grants to establish these rural alternatives. However they rarely met with success, primarily because the communities did not easily fit pre-existing criteria for eligibility.[127]

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[123] These markets were advertised in *Down to Earth* and *Sunshine News*.

[124] LETS. "LETS: Information Sheet". [two page leaflet] Author's collection [c.198?], and LETS. "LETS Trade". [two page leaflet] Author's collection [c.1991] promote participation in the LETS scheme. For background information about the scheme, see *Maleny Co-operatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. vol.1, issue 1. 1990. p.2 and Jill Jordan. "LETSpread across Australia." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. Christmas. vol.2. no.1. 1991. pp.22-23.

[125] LETS. "LETS Trade". [two page leaflet] Author's collection [c.1991]

[126] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.246.

[127] Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. p.210.

Moreover, there were legal and regulatory issues which community dwellers were often compelled to address. These included local government multiple occupancy and building regulations, environmental legislation by state government, the need for agricultural advice and information and legal ownership structures, road access, and police harassment. Another set of issues included social security issues, education and health services, taxation and taxation rate structures.[128] These bureaucratic issues required responses and initiatives from the participants, to the appropriate agencies. For instance, local governments throughout Australia were lobbied to change zoning regulations to accommodate the needs of the commune-dwellers. These factors contributed to undermining the original aim of establishing the rustic ideal separate from society.

Efforts to deal with these issues were reflected in the conference on The Future of Alternative Communities in Western Australia in 1979, a two day seminar under the sponsorship of the Western Australia University anthropology department.[129] In New South Wales, David Spain was appointed a two year contract by the Statutory Committee advising the New South Wales State Minister for Housing and Co-operative Societies, to consider reform of co-operatives act. According to Spain:

> This appointment is a direct endorsement of my work to extend this new flood of land co-operatives and to resettle the unemployed.[130]

In 1982, at the Sydney Co-operatives Conference Spain listed the problems of communities as: conditioning, organisation, high land prices, capitalisation and establishment. He claimed that:

> historically, socially, economically, and politically, it is wise and urgent and the time for far greater emphasis to be placed by government and the media upon resettling people into the basically self-sufficient self-managing co-operatives communities.[131]

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[128] These issues are raised in E.A. Sommerlad, P.C. Dawson, and J.C. Altman. *Rural Land-Sharing Communities: An Alternative Economic Model?* (ANU report commissioned by Bureau of Labour Market Research) Australian Government Printing Service. 1985. pp.208-213, Cock. *Alternative Australia*. 1979. pp.243-47, Metcalf and Vanclay. *Government Assistance to Alternative Lifestyles*. 1984. and Metcalf and Vanclay. *Participation in Alternative Lifestyles in Australia*. 1984.

[129] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. October. 1979. p.14.

[130] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. August. 1981. p.12.

[131] *Sunshine News*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. no.112. 29 July. 1982. p.14.

These developments signalled the emerging government interest in the resettlement priority of this movement, as a means for addressing rural unemployment issues in a declining economic climate.

Co-operatives assumed an increasingly important role in the movement, as issues of livelihood became more urgent.[132] Cooperatives were seen as a means for pursuing the small-scale rustic ideal - trained artisans in small-scale worker-controlled humane workplaces, producing for social needs, using ethical materials and forms of production. By the early 1980s a host of small co-operatives had formed throughout the Sunshine Coast hinterland, with the aim of dealing with livelihood issues in an "ethical" way.[133] The co-operatives mainly sold goods and services, which included organic food, health foods, seeds, bees and honey, and healing arts through food co-ops, cafes, bakeries, and seedbanks. In Brisbane similar developments took place. In 1977, the retail outlet Alternatives was established to provide appropriate technology to those aspiring to the rustic ideal. They offered for sale pot belly stoves, wood stoves, natural pesticides and organic fertilisers in a Brisbane outlet.[134] Red Hill soap cooperative began in 1982 and a bread-making enterprise soon after. By 1983 the Neighbourhood Workers Co-operative was formed:

> The Neighbourhood Work Co-operative is a group of people living in the Red Hill/Paddington area who are trying to build a co-operative work and to encourage local labour intensive production of basic goods. We see this as a community response to unemployment and other exploitative aspects of mainstream work.[135]

The emphasis upon small-scale production to address human needs was apparent in the imagery used in the newsletter of this cooperative. One front cover depicted images of people engaging in the production of soap, paper, and bread, and woodwork and bee-keeping (see

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[132] See Merv Partridge. "Building a sustainable green economy: ethical investment, ethical work". Drew Hutton. ed. *Green Politics in Australia*. Angus and Robertson. North Ryde, New South Wales. 1987.

[133] *Sunshine News* had a banner of: Simple living, right livelihood, high thinking. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland.

[134] This was initially an initiative of Natural Pest Control in partnership with Queensland Conservation Council, as a fund-raising project. However Queensland bought out of it in 1979 - "Alternatives." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. October 1977. p.6, "Environmental Outlet." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. May/June. 1979. p.14, and *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. August. 1980. p.5.

[135] *Neighbourhood Workers Co-op Newsletter*. Author's collection. October. 1983. u.p.

diagram 5). The Good Foods Co-op in Paddington started in August 1986.[136] The Web, 'shared work-space' (later re-named an enterprise centre), was established in 1989, to provide premises and shared resources for a variety of collectives and projects aimed at establishing viable employment.[137]

By the early 1980s in the Sunshine Coast and hinterland many co-operatives were experiencing difficulties. Several co-operatives had already failed. It was recognised that more expertise in establishing and running co-operatives was required, as was dealing with the recurrent problems of under-capitalisation. In Maleny, the Maple Street Co-op was established in 1983, following much discussion about how to achieve better results.[138] Attempts to formalise this direction eventuated in the formation of the Community Development Co-operative:

> Concerned about increasing rural poverty and unemployment and the effect of unplanned development a group of Maleny residents met in July to form the Maleny Community Development Co-operative... The Community Employment Program is being considered as a source of funding.[139]

These problems were also being experienced by the rest of the movement nationally. The Nimbin Lifestyle Festival was convened in September 1983, to celebrate the ten years since the Aquarius festival.[140] The aim of the Festival was to "show that work done in rural communities is a valuable contribution to society at large,"[141] to gain wider acceptance of

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[136] *Good Foods Co-op Newsletter*. Author's collection. no.2, August. 1986. p.1 and *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. June. 1986. p.14.

[137] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. November. 1988. p.5 and *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. September. 1989. p.4.

[138] Marg O'Connell. "Cooperatives, communities, and the unemployed". *Sunshine News*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. 30 June. 1983. pp.4-5 and "The first ten years." *Maleny Co-operatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. vol.1. no.1. p.12.

[139] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. May. 1983. p.13.

[140] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. March. 1983. p.4.

[141] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. May. 1983. p.5.

# neighbourhood workers co-op newsletter

October 1983.

The neighbourhood work co-operative is group of people living in the Red-Hill/ Paddington area who are trying to build co-operative work and to encourage local labour intensive production of basic goods. We see this as a community response to unemployment and other exploitive aspects of mainstream work

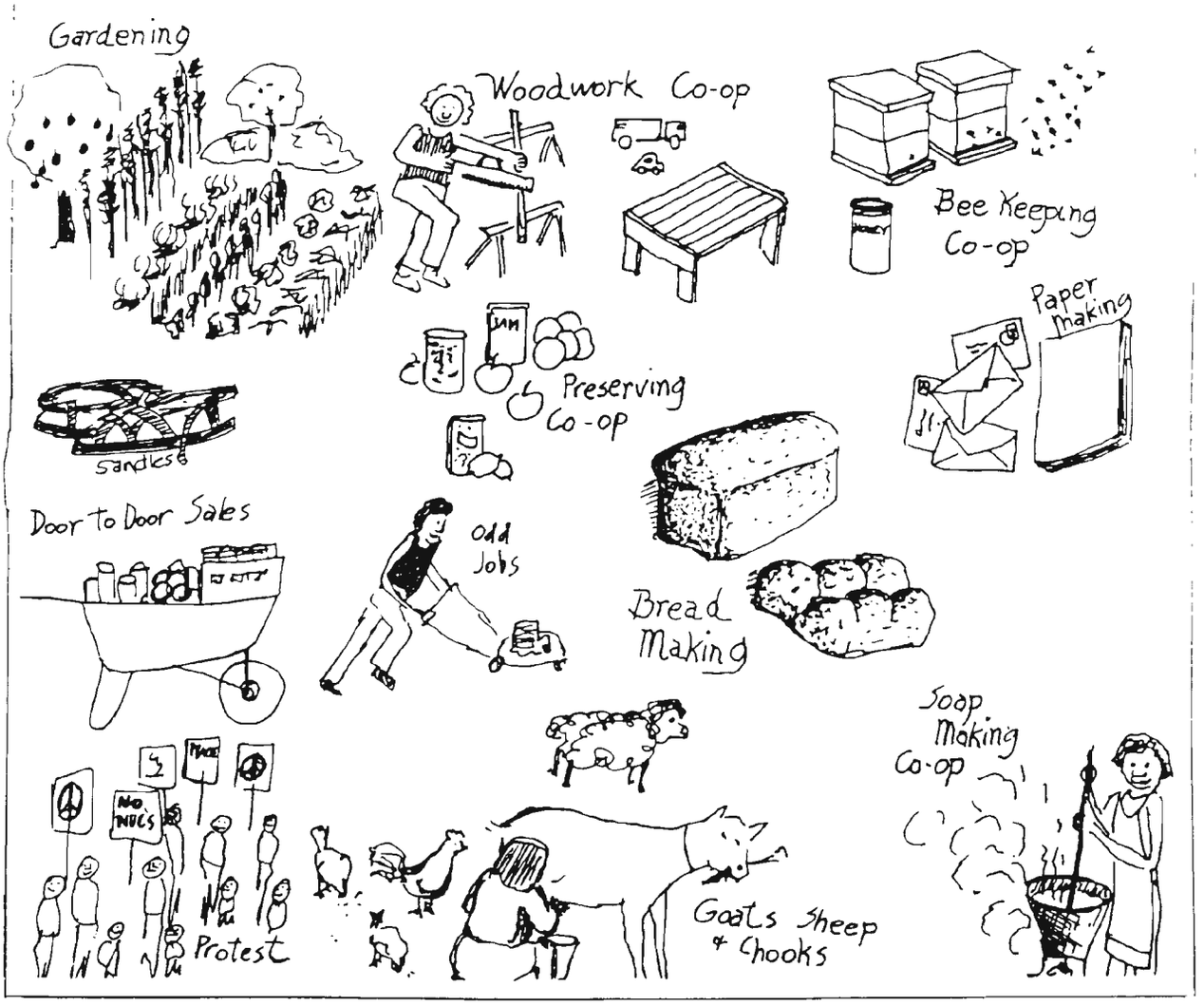


**diagram 5**

their endeavours to access finance and information resources.[142] A report from the Rural Settlement Seminar at the Festival proposed there was a need for organising collectively, to better accommodate the way the government departments operated:

> Government representatives pointed out the necessity to identify ourselves not individually but collectively. To speak as one voice. They will pay attention to a co-ordinated body.[143]

From this Festival was formed the Australian Association of Sustainable Communities. The general aims were of this organisation were to:

> assist the viability and continuing growth of these communities by: developing local, regional and national information networks; developing coherent recommendation for the formulation and implementation of government policies; developing appropriate education programmes, experience building workshops and consultative resource centres.[144]

By early 1985, there were over thirty groups of this organisation around Australia.[145] These groups established liaison with local government authorities, and with some Federal Government departments including the Department of Education and Youth Affairs "from where encouragement has been received".[146]

Another attempt to address the financial and regulatory problems experienced by participants in this movement was the Alternative Economic Summit, convened in Tasmania by Bill Mollison.[147] This conference was planned to coincide with the Federal Labor Party Economic Summit in 1983. It represented a protest against the expected agenda and outcomes of the formal summit. It was also an attempt to address the very real financial viability issues

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[142] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. May. 1983. p.5 and Australian Association of Sustainable Communities. "Networking Through AASC". [four page leaflet] Author's collection [c. 1990].

[143] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. November. 1983. page 13.

[144] Standard inside cover of *News From Home*, newsletter of the Australian Association of Sustainable Communities. Author's collection.

[145] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. April. 1985. p.11.

[146] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. November. 1983. p.13.

[147] "A short history. Maleny Co-operatives". p.3. Bill Mollison developed the concept of permaculture. The idea for the Maleny and District Community Credit Union originated at the 1983 Summit meeting in Tasmania, according to a letter, signed by Jill Jordan on behalf of the Maleny and District Community Credit Union, to Joseph Grossman, Minister of Co-operative Affairs, New South Wales, dated 5 January 1988. Author's collection.

of the alternative community participants in a difficult recessionary climate.

The heightened interest of the alternative community movement in dealing with financial and other issues also coincided with the interest by the new Federal Labor Government in this movement as a means of dealing with rural unemployment, a significant issue in the early 1980s. Reports were commissioned by the Federal Government for the Office of Youth Affairs, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet to consider what forms of government assistance might be useful for enhancing the economic viability of the participants in this movement. One report established the kinds of support sought by participant.[148] Another Government commissioned report assessed their viability. This second report was not favourable and so support from the Federal Government was not forthcoming.[149]

One of the problems faced by this movement was that co-operatives legislation was not entirely adequate for their purposes. They looked to the emerging contemporary co-operative movement to improve their capacity to achieve legislative reforms and to gain financial and other kinds of support.[150] The co-operatives movement was, however, dominated by conventional actors interested in establishing small businesses. Promotion of small businesses was encouraged by the governments as a strategy for dealing with the continuing economic difficulties at that time, including employment and balance of trade. This contemporary co-operatives movement took root in several states, under the umbrella of the national organisation, the Council of Community Co-operatives. In Queensland *Co-operative Times*

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[148] Metcalf and Vanclay. *Rural Land-Sharing Communities*. 1985.

[149] See Sommerlad et al. *Rural Land-Sharing Communities*. 1985. pp.208-213.

[150] This movement was 'contemporary' in that the co-operatives movement had already been present in Australia for almost a century: the labour movement and religious communities had established and promoted co-operatives. The common issues appeared to be provision of services not provided by the market or government, and democratic and economic control by the members. Thus self-reliance, cooperation, and often ethical issues were the espoused aspirations of the differing strands of the co-operative movement. A background to the labour movement co-operatives movement in Australia is discussed in the *Co-operative Times*, a newsletter published by the Ananda Marga and some participants in the alternative community movement between 1983 and 1985, to promote co-operatives - "Worker co-ops and trade unions". *Cooperative Times: Co-operative Self Development for Australia.* Author's collection. March-April. 1984. p.5. Partridge provides a background to the co-operatives movement in Australia - see Merv Partridge. "Building a sustainable green economy: ethical investment, ethical work." Drew Hutton. ed. *Green Politics in Australia*. Angus and Robertson. North Ryde, New South Wales. 1987.

was published in 1984 and 1985 to service the Queensland co-operatives movement.[151] There were tensions right from the start between the small business stream and the participants from the alternative community movement. The small business stream was primarily interested in the technicalities of establishing cooperatives, legal and taxation issues, and the role of co-operatives in the export market. Participants in the alternative community movement, however, saw co-operatives as a form of grass roots economic development, to service the aspirations of the participants in the movement. There was a split between these two streams as many in the alternative community movement found the co-operatives movement did not suit their purposes.[152]

Nonetheless, the alternative community movement was quite successful in another strategy for gaining access to capital, through the establishment of credit unions. There had been a resurgence of interest in credit unions for ethical investment, already with a respectable image and well supported by millions of investors.[153] By 1990 there were initiatives from the alternative community movement including the North Coast Ethical Credit Union, Bellingen District Loan Fund, and Permaculture International Limited. The Earthbank Society in December 1983 began to research and promote ethical investment.[154] The aim

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[151] The March-April 1984 edition of *Co-operative Times* was devoted to the history of labour movement co-operatives in Queensland, but also contained reports from Nimbin about alternative community movement co-operatives.

[152] The conventional small business stream within the co-operatives movement continued, working in conjunction with the Queensland Industry Development Corporation which sponsored the 1989 Annual Conference. The key issues of the 1989 Annual Conference were, "legislation, taxation, and representation of the co-operative sector," - "Conference to examine key Co-Op issues". *Cooperative Review*. no.12. 1989. p.1. It was a member group of the national organisation, the Co-Operative Federation of Australia, which in 1988 hosted a National Seminar on Co-Operative Development in conjunction with the Department of Primary Industry and Energy. Delegates and speakers included representation from the co-operative movement as well as government officials. The Primary Industries and Energy Minister was also a speaker, and he encouraged the co-operative movement to play in role in the export economy - "National Seminar on Co-operative development sets an agenda for action into the 1990s". *Co-Operative Courier*. September/October. 1988. p.1.

[153] This interest coincided with more widespread interest in 'ethical investment', mostly initiated by the ecology movement in the mid-1970s internationally. However, Australia had been slow to respond to this boom although in recent years there had been several initiatives. These included Money Matters Corporation, August Financial Management Limited, and Friend's Ethical Managed Fund, while the national conservation movement had established the Green Bonds ethical investment fund. Rob Gell. "New projects for ACF Green Bond." *Habitat Australia*. July. 1992. p.15.

[154] See *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. September. 1985. p.10. Southern Cross Capital Exchange started in NSW in November 1983. Also see Ian Davis. "First Ethical Fund". *The Canberra Times*. 23 September 1986. p.13, Robert Rosen. "Ethical investment and the conservation movement".

of the credit unions was to generate investment capital for 'ethical' projects, while also providing an alternative to the conventional banking system. The idea for what was to become the Maleny Credit Union began in 1984, and the Maleny and District Credit Union Ltd began operation later that year. It also answered a pragmatic financial need to generate investment capital, "it is necessary to rethink our financial strategies and to seek financial institutions governed by ethics."[155] Meanwhile an inner Brisbane Community Credit Union was proposed.[156]

While still guided by the substantively rational aspirations of the rustic ideal, these attempts to deal with the legal, regulatory and financial problems contributed to the increasing engagement with authorities, particularly government departments, and more conventional organisations such as the co-operatives movement. The movement became increasingly politicised and political, mainly in local government regulatory affairs. However there were tensions within these endeavours. The short-lived participation in the co-operatives movement also reflected tensions between their own aspirations and those involved in the conventional economy. In addition, there was resistance within the Australian Association of Sustainable Communities towards participating in a centralised national organisation. Concern was expressed about the Government's proposal to appoint a movement representative to a national consultative body. Many in the movement felt that one individual could not represent the diversity of views and needs across the movement. The Government was informed of this concern, and faced with the request liaison be established separately with each of the thirty branches.[157]

One outcome of addressing financial viability problems was the proliferation of co-operatives as the model for land-ownership and worker enterprises. In contrast to the focus on rural

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*Habitat Australia*. June. 1987. p.38, and Jaya Balendra and Raymond Gill. "The cost of your conscience". *Sunday Age*. 8 December 1990. pp.1-2, also *Ethical investment. Making money matters'*. [twelve page brochure] Author's collection. [c.1990], and *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. February. 1985. p.5.

[155] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. February. 1985. p.5.

[156] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. February. 1985. p.5.

[157] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. September. 1984. pp.12-13.

settlement in the early 1970s, these worker enterprises became the central expression of the rustic ideal of the alternative community movement through the 1980s.[158] Recognition for worker co-operatives and the informal economy was sought through redefining the notion of the conventional economy to include them. Accordingly the economy was defined in terms of the following sectors:

> a small-scale local sector, a household/neighbourhood sector - paid, ... and a household/neighbourhood sector - unpaid ... [as well as] a large-scale manufacturing sector ... and ... a large-scale services sector".[159]

**humanism and ecology**

A third characteristic of the changing expression of the rustic ideal was the increasing emphasis on ecological issues. During the 1970s, the environmental movement had flourished. As Chapter Three showed, the conservation movement developed as a national movement. From the 1970s the environment movement emerged internationally, as public concern about environmental issues began to assume more prominence on the public agenda. In Queensland, as in much of urbanised Australia, organisations and campaigns proliferated amidst a range of environment-related issues. Branches of international environmental organisations were established, in particular the Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace. Following the failure to prevent the flooding of Lake Pedder in Tasmania, many other environmental issues took public attention.[160] Uranium issues were important to the environment movement during this time, in terms of the environmental impacts of the mining operations and waste disposal concerns. Moreover, the proposed enrichment plant mooted by the Premier of Queensland in the early 1980s also generated public concerns.[161]

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[158] Ferreira defines the WEB as a community - see Ferreira. *Alternative Communities Directory*. 1991.

[159] Jill Jordan, speaking at the 1986 Green Perspectives, Green Challenges Conference which was organised by the Brisbane Green Party in a prominent activist for the alternative community movement in the Maleny area, gave a paper entitled, 'Towards a Green Economy.' This paper outlined the alternative community project for a 'sustainable economy' - see *"Green Perspectives, Green Challenges". A Conference*. Proceedings of the conference of the Brisbane Green Party, held 28 February-2 March 1986. Brisbane. Author's collection. 1986.

[160] See Chapter Three: Moral Protest Against Impact of Development.

[161] For background to the uranium protest in Brisbane, see Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*. 1984. pp.342-346.

Participants in the alternative community movement had some involvement in campaigns to prevent the destruction of the natural environment. Over the 1970s the alternative community and conservation movements were not quite distinct. A range of issues took the attention of this movement, including opposition to logging in Terania Creek in northern New South Wales, and sand-mining at Middlehead on the northern New South Coast. Occupation of the Middlehead site was encouraged to protest against the mining operation.[162] The occupation consisted of "40 or more people maintaining a joyful presence that is a frontline of love against the exploitation of the Earth."[163] Campaigns to protect the Conondale Ranges, in the Sunshine hinterland, were also supported.[164] The Tasmanian dam issue also generated support from the alternative community movement, through participation in the blockade in 1983.[165] There was interest in supporting on-going Queensland Environmental Festivals which were held on World Environment Day, from late 1970s onwards. The 1979 Queensland Environmental Festival held in Brisbane involved information stalls by campaigns such as Save the Barrier Reef, Save Moreton Island, Project Jonah, and displays of permaculture, alternative energy sources, and spinning.[166] These activities indicated the lack of clear distinction between the conservation and alternative community movements around environment and environment-related issues. As noted above, Alternatives was opened to provide a commercial outlet in Brisbane, for appropriate technology. It was an initiative from the conservation movement in conjunction with some participants in the alternative community movement.[167]

Another facet of the growing emphasis upon environmental issues was the articulation of philosophies grounded in ecological perspectives. Initially ecological issues were framed in

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[162] "Sustainable development." *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. January. 1980. p.15 and *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. August. 1980. p.7.

[163] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. September. 1980. p.14.

[164] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. November. 1981. p.5.

[165] "Franklin update". *Sunshine News*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. no.121. 2 December 1982. u.p.

[166] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. June. 1979. p.1.

[167] *Sunshine News*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. no.112. 29 July. 1982. p.14.

terms of humanist critiques of industrial society, as discussed earlier. That is, the dichotomy between human and nature in industrial society was considered destructive to the individual. However, as pointed out earlier, another aspect of the alienation of humanity from nature was the human capacity to conquer and destroy the natural world. Over the early 1980s various forms of environmental philosophy and spiritualism emerged. In early 1984, the Spiritual Ecology Conference was held in the Sunshine Coast hinterland,[168] signalling the endeavour to understand the human-nature relationship in new ways. Moreover, references to 'deep ecology' began to appear in the movement newsletters. Deep ecology was proposed as a more comprehensive approach to human/nature relations than 'shallow ecology' of environmentalism.[169] The first Deep Ecology Conference in Australia was September 1982 in Ballina in northeast new South Wales, in a alternative community movement stronghold. It was convened "for people seeking inner contact with the environment".[170]

Increasingly the ecological aspect of the rustic ideal was incorporated into the praxis of the movement. Seed banks were supported, as were natural pesticides.[171] The 'platform' of the Australian Association of Sustainable Communities was to:

> assist, co-ordinate and establish for benefit of interested persons sustainable lifestyle communities characterised by interpersonal harmony, environmental responsibility and economic viability.[172]

One branch of this organisation used imagery on their letterhead which contrasted the urban environment with a more valued sparsely settled rural landscape (see diagram 6). Formal communities listed in their aims permaculture, alternative technology, land reclamation,

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[168] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. March. 1984. p.3.

[169] According to Sylvan, 'shallow ecology' is associated with anthropocentric approaches to human society and the environment. 'Deep ecology' "appears to be some elaboration of the position that natural things other than humans have value in themselves, value sometimes perhaps exceeding that of or had by humans". Richard Sylvan. "A critique of deep ecology". *Radical Philosophy*. Summer. No.40. 1985. p.10. For further discussion about deep ecology, see Arne Naess. "The shallow and the deep, long-range ecology movement. A summary". *Inquiry*. no.16. 1973. pp.95-100. Freya Mathews. "Conservation and the politics of deep ecology". *Social Alternatives*. vol.6. no.4. 1987. pp.37-41. Arne Naess. "A defence of the deep ecology movement". *Environmental Ethics*. vol.6. no.3. 1984. pp.265-70.

[170] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. September. 1983. p.11.

[171] Advertisements for small co-operatives are present throughout *Down to Earth* and *Sunshine News*.

[172] Standard inside cover of *News From Home*, the newsletter of the Australian Association of Sustainable Communities.


AASC
AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATION for
SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES

**diagram 6**

wildlife sanctuary, conservation, organic and biodynamic food production, as well as healing and therapeutic personal growth, spiritual and philosophical issues.[173] Pegasus electronic-mail system was promoted as both cost effective and environmentally sound.[174] The aims of the WEB shared work space were categorised as "care of the earth", "care of people," and "care of the community".[175] Good Foods Co-operative aimed to:

> supply sustainable lifestyle requirements ... to promote greater self-reliance, by encouraging local production of goods and services and produce ... to promote alternative exchange systems, such as bartering of goods and services ... to provide education and increase awareness about food, environmental issues and co-operation.[176]

The LETS scheme was also promoted on ecological grounds:

> LETS has the potential to assist the local community both socially and environmentally: socially by helping people to get to know, trust and help each other: and environmentally by encouraging people to obtain their needs from within their local community thus reducing the amount of pollution and fuel wastage caused by the transportation of goods across long distances.[177]

Through the late 1980 and early 1990s the City Farm project endeavoured to establish a co-operative near Brisbane, for people wishing to build a house in an ecologically sustainable community development. The City Farm promoters convened a fair which was promoted as:

> Queensland's first environmentally sustainable development lifestyle and technology open day and fair ... to pave the way for Australia's first ESD [ecologically sustainable development] open day to pave the way for the first ESD settlement.[178]

In addition, throughout the 1980s the alternative community movement increasingly identified its geographical basis in terms of 'bio-regions'. For instance, AASC was organised in terms

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[173] Ferreira. *Alternative Movements Directory*. 1991.

[174] Pegasus Networks. "Join the communications revolution". [four page promotional brochure] Author's collection. [c.1990].

[175] WEB Inc. "Ethical charter". [two page statement of objectives of the WEB inc. 'shared work-space'] Author's collection. 1988

[176] *Good Foods Co-operative Newsletter*. Author's collection. no.2. August. 1986. u.p.

[177] LETS. "LETS: Information Sheet". [two page leaflet] Author's collection. 1987. The LETS system was originally the Local Employment Training Scheme. The name was changed to Local Energy Transfer System, reflecting the increased priority being given to ecological issues. *Maleny Co-operatives. A Quarterly Review.* Author's collection. vol.1. no.1. p.2.

[178] City Farm. *Ecologically Sustainable Housing Open Day and Fair*. [20 page promotional newsletter] Author's collection. 2 August 1992, and City Farm. *City Farm Newsletter.* Author's collection. vol.1. no.3. 1992.

of bio-regions and even identified community on that basis. Bio-regions refers to regions defined in terms of ecological criteria rather than political administrative boundaries.[179] The ecological significance of bio-regions was two-fold. The first was philosophical, in terms of bringing social organisation into alignment with the rest of the natural world, in contrast with political administrative boundaries which were established according to social criteria. The emphasis upon bio-regions also signalled the promotion of local production and consumption of goods and services for reasons of energy-efficiency. Reducing transport of goods was one aim, and encouraging low energy transportation of people to markets was another. For instance, amongst the aims of the LETS system was to protect the environmental by "encouraging people to satisfy their needs from within the local community".[180]

The practice of 'permaculture' was another indication of the greening of the praxis of the movement. Permaculture was a concept devised by Bill Mollison in the late 1970s.[181] It referred to:

> a permanent self-sustaining system of agriculture, adaptable to both rural and urban situations, designed to produce an efficient low-maintenance, optimally productive integration of trees, plants, animals, structures and human activities within specific environments, with the ultimate goal of ecological stability and diversity in a system designed for conservation of soil, water, energy, and all other natural resources.[182]

Since the notion of permaculture was introduced by Mollison, its principles have been embraced widely in the alternative community movement. Permaculture was promoted at the Worlds Environment Day Festivals as early as 1979 and continued to be a feature of

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[179] The Australian Association of Sustainable Communities. "Networking through AASC". [four page promotional leaflet] Author's collection. [c.1989] refers to participants on an existing community, defined in terms of land sharing or occupation of the same bio-region. The Brisbane Australian Association of Sustainable Communities group identified as the Brisbane bio-region.

[180] LETS. "LETS trade". [two page leaflet] Author's collection. [c.1991]. This leaflet encourages participation in the scheme.

[181] Bill Mollison and David Holmgren developed the a "framework for a sustainable agricultural system based on a multi-crop of perennial trees, shrubs and herbs ... fungi and root systems" which they termed 'permaculture'. The first publication to explain and promote permaculture was Bill Mollison and David Holmgren. *Permaculture*. Transworld Publishers. Melbourne. 1978. For more information, see Bill Mollison. "Preface"
Mollison, Bill and Reny Mia Slay. *Introduction to Permaculture*. Tagari Publishers. Tyalgum, Australia. 1991.

[182] *Permaculture Nambour*. March. no.36. 1988. p.1.

festivals, workshops and fairs.[183] Co-operatives servicing the movement advertise amongst their wares permaculture supplies in movement newsletters. In addition, permaculture organisations were formed, including the establishment in 1979 of permaculture groups in the small town of Nambour, and at a community named the Garden of Eden on the Queensland-New South Wales border.[184] In 1988, the Permaculture Nambour organisation had a paid-up membership of about 2,000.[185] A Permaculture Institute was established at Tewantin in 1982.[186] The community of Crystal Waters devoted itself to establishing and promoting permaculture while most of the listings in the *Alternative Communities Directory* included permaculture as one of their activities.[187] Permaculture courses were run in the Sunshine Coast hinterland and in Brisbane. The WEB provided speakers and classes for permaculture.[188] Crystal Waters Permaculture Village also provided residential courses in permaculture.[189]

From the original humanist-inspired endeavour to build an alternative society, the alternative community movement also sought to address the ecological repercussions of human activity. As the above passage indicates, the ecological dimension of the rustic ideal strengthened over the 1980s.

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[183] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. June. 1979. p.1 discusses preparations for the 1979 Environment Day. References to later Environment Day preparations are present throughout *Down to Earth Newsletter* and *Sunshine News*.

[184] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. June. 1979. p.11.

[185] *Permaculture Nambour*. Winter. no.37. p.31.

[186] *Sunshine News*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. no.116. 23 September 1982. p.17.

[187] Ferreira. *Alternative Communities Directory*. 1991.

[188] Web Inc. "Basic Needs. Courses at the Web". Autumn. [4 page leaflet advertising courses] Author's collection. 1991. They covered a variety of topics and activities including permaculture. Also Web Inc. "Food Open Day". [one page leaflet] Author's collection. 2 June 1992.

[189] Ferreira. *Alternative Communities Directory*. 1991. These courses are outlined in detail in the advertising brochure for Crystal Waters Permaculture Village. "Working with the Environment". Author's collection. [c.1992].

**sustainable lifestyles and the alternative community movement**

These terms 'sustainable communities' and 'sustainable lifestyles' arose in the movement publications over the 1980s to describe the aims of the participants, and was central to the environmental project. This terminology was evident in the organisation which emerged from the movement, the Australian Association of Sustainable Communities. The meaning of 'sustainable' in this context has been encapsulated in the aim of this organisation:

> to assist, co-ordinate and establish for benefit of interested persons sustainable lifestyle communities characterised by interpersonal harmony, environmental responsibility and economic viability.[190]

The notion of sustainability therefore embraced both ecological and social components, reflecting the expression of the rustic ideal over the 1980s.

One dimension of sustainability was the endeavour to maintain the community-based way of life - addressing alienation through personal and community power. As this section shows, the notion of community was expanded from the rural-based commune to a more expansive notion defined by the nature of the personal relationships and commitments to the ideals of the movement. The movement accordingly expanded to comprise the communes, worker co-operatives, and the cultural, educational and information services. Another dimension of sustainability was economic viability. As shown above, economic viability was crucial for the continuing presence of the movement. Sustainability thus referred to the capacity to participate in economic activity which furthered the aims of the movement within the limitations of the conventional economy in which it was inevitably engaged. Dealing with employment and access to capital were addressed primarily through establishing co-operatives which addressed the participants needs, albeit with assistance at times from others such as the government and the wider co-operative movement. The ecological preoccupation was a third dimension of sustainability, according with more conventional environmental-oriented definitions. Sustainability in these terms referred to ceasing human activity that was harmful to the eco-sphere, and implementing a range of lifestyle practices which healed the eco-sphere.

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[190] Standard inside cover of *News from Home*, the newsletter of the Australian Association of Sustainable Communities.

These three dimensions were, however, interrelated. Each element of sustainability supported the others. For example, apart from the reduction of the destructive impact on the natural environment by ecological lifestyle practices such as recycling and reducing dependence on consumerism, the daily practices were also intended to foster disengagement from the institutions which promoted ecological destruction. For instance, reducing energy needs by using small-scale alternative energy sources could reduce dependence upon the power grid. Using local produce markets replaced consumption of goods produced long distances away. Living in communal arrangements could be more energy-efficient. Small-scale artisan-based co-operatives could produce products beneficial to health as well as replacing commercial products which had unacceptable environmental costs. Thus the environmental project incorporated both social and ecological dimensions.

The alternative community movement advocated participation in the various elements of the movement. As suggested above, fairs and festivals encouraged the wider population to learn about sustainable lifestyles, through, for instance permaculture classes and low-impact technology displays. However, the environmental project was ultimately about praxis. It involved living these ideals of interpersonal harmony, environmental responsibility and economic viability:

> During 1988 the focus on the worlds people will be on our little corner of the earth. [this refers to Expo 88 which was sited in Brisbane in 1988] We have the chance to display our ideas of how life can be in the future by how some of us are living now ... Many of us are living the Green Alternative, on our terms, and in our suburban homes.[191]

## CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This chapter has shown that the environmental project of the alternative community movement developed out of the endeavour by some participants in the counter-culture, during the late 1960s and 1970s, to address their humanist critiques of industrial society. The movement coalesced from the incidences of withdrawal from society and the eventual endeavours to form rural communities. This chapter shows that the aims of the movement

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[191] *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. October. 1986. p.9.

lay in the praxis of the rustic ideal, personal and community power, and care for the environment. In contrast to the conservation movement, the alternative community movement sought disengagement from 'the system' through building alternative social practices and institutions, as a condition of the praxis of their environmental project.[192]

This chapter has also shown that the alternative community movement did not achieve the disengagement from industrial society that was sought by the earliest participants. The praxis of the movement was substantially shaped over the 1970-80s by three factors: the broader redefinition of community, regulatory, legal, and financial matters, and an increasing concern with ecological issues. Pragmatic considerations to improve the chances of movement survival contributed to compromises arising from these factors, necessitating involvement with authorities, and the adoption of bureaucratic practices to administer collectivities within the movement. Success in these pragmatic considerations were, however, hampered by lack of engagement which initially had been diligently sought. In spite of these difficulties, the rustic ideal remained a constant guiding theme for movement participants, as the praxis of the movement, and as the praxis of the environmental project.

[192] See Chapter Three for background to the environmental project of the conservation movement. Also, see Chapter Two: Movement Efficacy for discussion about engagement.

# Chapter Five

# THE POLITICAL GREEN MOVEMENT

This chapter is the final one in Part B. It complements the previous two chapters by addressing the formation of another environmental project within the green movement in southeast Queensland, the political green movement. Chapter Four focused upon the lifestyle tendency of the New Left counter-culture and the subsequent emergence of the alternative community movement. It showed that the environmental project of the alternative community movement, sustainable lifestyles, involved the praxis of a lifestyle aiming to achieve "interpersonal harmony, environmental responsibility and economic viability".[1] This project based in praxis was distinguished from the program of institutional reform which characterised the environmental project of the conservation movement, for the achievement of ecologically sustainable development. This chapter, however, focuses upon a green movement-building initiative, which emerged from the political tendency of the New Left in Brisbane. The environmental project formed by this initiative constituted the endeavour to achieve social and political institutional transformation towards a 'just, humane, and ecological' society.

The alternative community and political green movements had a common genesis in the radical political culture of the 1960s-70s. This accounts for some similar characteristics, notably the humanist critique of industrial society. Like the alternative community movement, the political green movement is characterised in this thesis as a non-institutionalised collective actor. This chapter thus highlights self-creating movement factors for explaining the character of the environmental project which formed from the green political movement, and to distinguish it from the alternative community movement. While having continuities with the international and Australia-wide New Left activism of the 1960-70s, the formation of the southeast Queensland political green movement can be traced to specific Brisbane-based phenomena. Accordingly, the focus of this section, and the remainder of the chapter, is

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[1] Standard inside cover of *News From Home*, the newsletter of the Australian Association of Sustainable Communities. Author's collection.

necessarily local. This chapter thus draws principally upon materials produced by this Brisbane-based initiative, including policy and campaign documents, minutes and conference proceedings, and discussion papers. This material has been interpreted with reference to the anti-bureaucratic orientation which characterises the movement, and to the social and political context.

Referring to the green political movement as a *movement* requires some qualification. The movement dynamics of mass movement building initiatives such as the political green movement contributes to a less empirically coherent and organisationally consolidated movement than for the alternative community and conservation movements. The organisations which comprised the conservation movement, for instance, were quite apparent. Although praxis was the principle expression of the alternative community movement, nonetheless there were readily identifiable empirical forms such as rural communities, urban worker co-operatives, and credit unions. The mass movement building initiative of movements such as the political green movement, might at times be expressed through distinct organisations as a rallying point. However participation in these broader popular struggles and movements may lead to lack of readily apparent organisational social forms. The continuity of these movements is through the participants who continue to promote the project of the movement, and the presence of the project itself.

The role of leadership had more significance for the green political green movement than for the alternative community and conservation movements. In movements dedicated to mass movement building, leadership plays an important role in establishing the ethos and actions of the movement. Leadership is also important for creating alignments and solidarity with other anti-systemic and conventional actors.[2] The capacity to articulate inclusive platforms is necessary for success, thus reliance on leadership is more important to this kind of initiative than organisational coherence. Thus the notion of *movement* for mass movement building tendencies such as the green political movement refers largely to an ethos group which may or may not be located within an organisation.[3] A final point to make about the

[2] 'Solidarity' implies a shared substantively-based identity with each other, while 'alignment' refers to a more instrumental alliance of convenience.

[3] See Chapter Two: Movement Consolidation.

use of the term movement for the political green movement is that, as an ethos group, even small numbers of participants may have a stronger influence on broad movement consolidation and solidarity building than the number of participants might otherwise imply.

The first section addresses the political tendency of the radical political movement with reference to the aim of participants to build a self-managed society through mass movements and support of popular struggles. This section complements the first one in Chapter Four which also addresses the New Left counter-culture of the late 1960 and early 1970s. Following the section on the political tendency of the radical political movement, the next one addresses the emergence of a new mass movement building initiative in Brisbane in the early 1980s, which was inspired by the apparent successes of the German Greens. This section draws attention to the continuities between the new green political movement and the political tendency from which it emerged, as well as with the international movements of which the German Greens were a part. This section also addresses the ecological dimension of this movement, and the subsequent promotion of a 'just, humane, and ecological society'.

A fundamental characteristic of the political tendency from which the political green movement emerged was to support popular struggles. This characteristic shapes the next section, which addresses the support given by the green political movement to urban dissent expressed by the residents movement. This section accounts for the escalation and character of urban dissent in southeast Queensland over the 1970s-80s, and for the identification of the green political movement with urban issues. It also addresses the subsequent endeavours by the political green movement to represent these popular struggles as indications of problems with the cultural and institutional basis of contemporary society. In addition this section indicates tensions within the political green movement about the meaning of self-management in relation to contemporary urban struggles in southeast Queensland. It shows that the divisiveness revealed tensions between what Pakulski refers to as the interventionist versus the participatory democratic tendencies.[4]

The final section in this chapter addresses the expression of the environmental project of the

[4] See Chapter Two: Plurality of Dimensions.

green political movement with respect to their preoccupation with urban issues. This section examines the framing of the 'just, humane, and ecological' society as the sustainable city. In particular, residents demands for quality of life outcomes and consultation were articulated by the green political movement as demands for the *revitalisation of local communities* and *participatory democracy*. This reframing as 'sustainable communities', constitutes an expression of the environmental project of the political green movement.

## THE RADICAL POLITICAL MOVEMENT AND LIBERTARIANISM

This section addresses the genesis of the green political movement in the political tendency of the radical political movements of the 1970s, to account for several of its fundamental characteristics. The political tendency of the radical political movement was a product of the major metropolitan urban centres around Australia. It had its roots in the New Left humanist critique of contemporary society. Issues of alienation and powerlessness were central to the analyses which characterised the political tendency.[5] This section explains the basis upon which the issues of unrest were posed as a problem by the political tendency[6] and the subsequent social agenda and preoccupation with *mass movement* politics and *self-management* which characterised it. The emergence of this humanist political tendency as a distinct movement was apparent in the realignments made within the radical political movement over the late 1960s and early 1970s. Over this period, the lifestyles stream consolidated (see Chapter Four) and tensions increased between the new and old left, and specifically between traditional marxism and libertarian perspectives.

### self-activity and a self-managed society

Following the demise of the Society for Democratic Action in Brisbane in 1968,[7] a range of ideologically-based organisations emerged from the radical political movement, mirroring similar developments in other major metropolitan centres. The aim was to "pass from a

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[5] See Chapter Four: Dropping Out and Challenging the System.

[6] See Chapter Two: Production of Issues.

[7] See Chapter Four: New Left and Humanism.

protest organisation to a radical or revolutionary movement".[8] What followed was a series of attempts to establish movements to promote the humanist concerns of the movement. These included the partnership of the Revolutionary Socialist Students Alliance and the Revolutionary Socialist Alliance, their subsequent demise and the formation by some ex-members of both into the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and its eventual split into the Labor Action Group and the Self-Management Group. The Self-Management Group broke down in 1977 into the Libertarian Socialist Organisation and the shorter-lived Self-Management Organisation.[9] The People for Direct Democracy formed in 1979 as an umbrella organisation for anarchist and libertarian groups and individuals. Participants included the Libertarian Socialist Organisations, Red and Black Bookshop Collective, and Two or Three Gathered in His Name, which was an anarchist Christian group.[10] Moreover, the People for Direct Democracy was closely linked with similar groups in other parts of Australia, including the Self-Management Groups in Perth, Sydney, and Adelaide, the Canberra Anarchists in Canberra, and other anarchist organisations in Melbourne and Launceston.[11]

This political tendency proposed self-activity as a means for achieving personal liberation:

> The struggle for human liberation can only involve action in the arenas of every-day life, the institutions where most people work and live. It must involve people's self-activity in the running of those institutions so that they may exist to satisfy human needs and no longer exploit people.[12]

However, underlying this emphasis upon self-activity was also the refusal to accept the

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[8] Society for Democratic Rights. "SDA Dissolves". [one page leaflet] [Brisbane]. Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 28 April 1968.

[9] These groups persisted over the following years respectively: 1969, 1969-70, 1970-71, 1971-77, 1977-83?, and 1977 - see Greg George and Joy Gyatt. *Publication of Political Organisations in Queensland*. Fryer Memorial Library, University of Queensland Libraries. Occasional Publication No.2. St. Lucia. 1983.

[10] George and Gyatt. *Publication of Political Organisations in Queensland*. 1983. p.188.

[11] This is indicated by the address lists in leaflet material, for instance, Self-Management Group. "Things can't stop getting out of hand". [two page leaflet and address list] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.1974-5]. In addition, co-publishing was undertaken, such as the response of the libertarian tendency to the criticism of them by a member of the Communist Party - see The Self-Management Group. *Containment and Resolution. Replies to the Communist Party of Australia*. [broadsheet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 14 October 1974. u.p.

[12] [Self-Management Group]. "Fascism and latent fascism in the counter-culture". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane]. Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c. 1974].

legitimacy of the liberal institutions for their apparent failure to bring about socially just outcomes. Speaking generally of the New Left and student movements of the 1960-70s:

> Many on the New Left seriously doubted whether liberal institutions could ever satisfactorily address their grievances. The conflict between liberal political ideas and social reality exacerbated the feelings of alienation.[13]

Thus issues of social justice were considered central to defining a self-managed society, and seen as intrinsically linked with the institutional basis of society. Models of a self-managed society were proposed. For instance, the Revolutionary Socialist Party had the objective of:

> a socialist humanist society based on worker's self-management in all institutions, rank and file control of unions and a staff-student self-managed university.[14]

The Self-Management Group also promoted worker's self-management, suggesting that "worker's councils ... [were] ... the basis for real democracy".[15] The term workers, in this context, referred to any-one taking the orders of another, "those who haven't any power to determine their lives, these are the workers",[16] rather than the traditional economic sense of the old left. Co-ordination of a self-managed society, which was considered important for collective decision-making and achieving socially just outcomes, was to be democratically organised through associations of self-managed units at a workplace and community level. Thus self-activity would ultimately produce the self-managed society, as a process of establishing social relationships grounded in humanist ideals.

This preoccupation with self-management by the libertarian tendency in the radical political movement was at odds with the old (marxist) left. The old left was viewed as undermining people's capacity for self-management:

> The traditional parties of the left (the Stalinists, Maoists, Trotskyites, the CPA [Communist Party of Australia] the ALP) and the trade unions do not work for the freedom of people from this alienated existence ... The essence of socialism must be

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[13] Geoff Stokes. "The new left and the counter culture". Norman Wintrol (ed). *Liberal Democratic Theory and its Critics*. Croom Helm. London. 1983. p.447.

[14] George and Gyatt. *Publication of Political Organisations in Queensland*. 1983. p.236.

[15] George and Gyatt. *Publication of Political Organisations in Queensland*. 1983. p.245.

[16] [Self-Management Group]. "On white collar sickies and toilet trips". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 8 September 1972.

self-management.[17]

The main tension between the libertarian and marxist tendencies within the left was the issue of authoritarianism. For example, as early as 1973, against charges of sectarianism from the traditional left, the Self-Management Group had refused to co-operate with building unity across the left in order to maintain its capacity to voice humanist concerns. The libertarian tendency clearly saw themselves as distinct from the old left on the basis of authoritarianism versus self-activity and empowerment.[18] A broadsheet produced by the Self-Management Groups in 1974 also illustrates this tension. The broadsheet claimed that communism failed to promote self-management, and the Communist Party of Australia was accused of perpetrating "containment, manipulation and violence".[19]

This tension was also evident in their separate mobilisation in the radical political movements, distinguished by the libertarian tendency which characterised the New Left and the continuing marxism of the Old Left. The Communist Party persisted in spite of the support given to the New Left. The trotskyite tendency, organised prior to 1971 as the Socialist Workers League, continued after 1971 as the Socialist Workers Party (and the youth league Resistance). Meanwhile the Society for Democratic Action had formed then demised, and was effectively replaced by the Revolutionary Socialist Party. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Revolutionary Socialist Party in 1971, the more libertarian Self-Management Group formed. The International Socialists formed in 1977 as another separate marxist group.[20]

The libertarian political tendency also distinguished themselves from what they referred to as the escapism of the lifestyle proponents or counter-culture. The Aquarius Festival had

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[17] [Revolutionary Socialist Party]. "Meanwhile, back in the real world!!". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane]. Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.1970-71].

[18] This is evident in leaflets, such as [Self-Management Group]. "Radical censorship". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 30 August 1973.

[19] [Self-Management Group]. *Containment and Resolution. The Self-Management Group Replies to the Communist Party of Australia*. 14 October 1974. u.p.

[20] George and Gyatt. *Publication of Political Organisations in Queensland*. 1983, pp.236-238, 245-54, and 151-53, respectively.

signalled the recognition of a new direction for some participants in the radical political movement, towards lifestyle politics.[21] However, for some others the Aquarius Festival was seen as a backward step, amidst claims that lifestyles 'politics' was not really political. There were suggestions that those who benefited most from the festival were the "mystic corporations" such as the Hare Krishna and the Divine Light Mission. Also concerns were expressed that many conference participants were not willing to engage in political activism, such as assisting people who were arrested at the conference for being in possession of illegal drugs.[22] Other criticisms of the counter-culture and lifestyle orientation were directed at the drugs, religion, and self-focus which was seen as inherently escapist.[23] The libertarians saw themselves, in contrast to those of the lifestyle tendency, as endeavouring to change society rather than turning away from it. They claimed that the "Nimbin escapists" were:

> not seeking to change the world but to despising it. As the protest against society was confined to a turning away from society, it denied itself and devolved itself into acts of lonely self-gratification.[24]

Promotion of self-activity as the basis of a self-managed society was promoted to the wider society, to foster self-activity in all spheres of life:

> We believe that the only fruitful type of political action is that in which people do begin to experience their humanity through their own self-activity,[25]

and not in special enclaves away from an evil society.[26]

Thus the libertarian political tendency of the radical political movement defined itself against the old left in relation to its humanist concerns, and against the escapists of the lifestyle

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[21] See Chapter Four: Dropping Out and Challenging the System.

[22] Discussed in [Self-Management Group]. "The counter-culture and self-management". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.1974].

[23] Five characteristics were identified in support of this claim: the search for a 'magic helper' such as I Ching, being 'like a child', quieting the mind rather than questioning, withdrawal of self from the world, and the fatalist belief in a cosmic plan - see [Self-Management Group]. "Fascism and latent fascism in the counter-culture". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.1974].

[24] [Self-Management Group]. "The counter-culture and self-management". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.1974].

[25] Revolutionary Socialist Party. "Meanwhile, back in the real world!!" [one page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.1970-71].

[26] [Self-Management Group]. "Fascism and latent fascism in the counter-culture". [c.1974].

stream. This view of *self-activity* clearly had common ground with the life-style tendency with regard to personal power.[27] However it was fundamentally different in that it was concerned with transforming the existing world through changing the nature of social relationships, "through the politics of every-day life"[28] rather than reconstructing a new one.

**mass movements for a self-managed society**

Self-activity was based on the premise that taking control of your own life was experiential - it could only be taken, not given. The aim of the libertarian political tendency was to foster self-activity for all people in all spheres of life, to develop the confidence to take control of their lives, to achieve a society of equal relationships:[29]

> We ... can best contribute to the liberation of people in the world from their oppression ... by a fight for self-management of our social institutions, which is the only form of activity which can fundamentally alter the pattern of power relationships in the world.[30]

On this basis local, national and international popular struggles were supported. In all instances, the notion of self-management was promoted as the means for dealing with the issues raised by popular struggles. Education issues continued to dominate the libertarian tendency.[31] However the libertarian political tendency also supported a range of popular

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[27] See Chapter Four: Humanist Dimension of the Rustic Ideal.

[28] Thus activity towards social transformation should take place "in the institutions where most people live and work" - noted in [Self-Management Group]. "Fascism and latent fascism in the counter-culture". [c.1974].

[29] This is evident in material produced by the Self-Management Group. The titles of some leaflets indicate this preoccupation: [Revolutionary Socialist Party]. "People cannot be given power, they must attain it themselves". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.1970-71], and [Self-Management Group]. "It is for you that you make the revolution". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.1970-71], for "those who are subject to the orders of others". The womens movement was criticised for viewing gender difference as the central problem: libertarians saw inequalities between the sexes arising from power relationships rather than innate sexual differences, as noted in the leaflet, "Love, sex, and libertarianism". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.early 1970s].

[30] [Revolutionary Socialist Party]. "We will fight in the refectory". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [1970-71].

[31] Leaflets produced by the Self-Management Group over the 1970s addressed a range of education issues, for example - [Self-Management Group]. "Exams are the failures, not the students". [Brisbane] [two page leaflet] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 16 July. 1973. [Self-Management Group]. "Learning - A question of life and death". [Brisbane] [two page leaflet] Political Organisations in

struggles over a variety of issues.

Popular struggles outside Australia were supported from a different perspective to the traditional left. The marxist vanguard parties such as the Communist Party of Australia generally supported the marxist liberation movements in nationalist struggles. However, with respect to the Middle East conflict, the Self-Management Group argued that all the protagonists were in the wrong as they failed to foster the empowerment and self-activity of the people: "resistance organisations fight not for liberation but for their own power."[32] While the Self-Management Group supported the liberation struggle in East Timor in the 1970s, they did not support Fretilin which was fighting 'on behalf' of the Timorese people.[33] The Vietnamese *people* were supported rather than the governments of North or South, while marxists often supported the North Vietnam government.[34]

Local issues were also interpreted within the framework of the libertarian view. For example, there was some support from the radical political movement for the residents opposition to the freeway plan in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[35] Another example was the response to the major floods in Brisbane in 1974. The Self-Management group focused upon the insurance swindles and the failure of the government to prevent the flood. They stated that

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Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.1972-74], [Self-Management Group]. "Authoritarian education". [Brisbane] [two page leaflet] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. October. 1972, [Self-Management Group]. "Education should be joyful and fulfilling". [Brisbane]. [two page leaflet] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 1973, and [Self-Management Group]. "Assessment, the assault on integrity". [Brisbane] [two page leaflet] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 1974.

[32] Self-Management Group. "The Middle East - The self-management view". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane]. Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 29 May 1975.

[33] Self-Management Group. "Why libertarians support the struggle of the Timorese people". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.1975].

[34] See Self-Management Group. "Support the struggle of the exploited people of Vietnam of the world". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [197?].

[35] According to Mullins, the residents campaigns were supported by a range of non-residents, including members of the Queensland Conservation Council, the Communist Party, students and welfare groups, and the Labor Party. Amongst these supporters were 'radical remnants of the anti-Vietnam student movement'. This group was more inclined to proffer 'direct support' for marches, rallies and occupations of sites. Some also managed to become involved in the steering committee of the major anti-freeway organisation Brisbane Freeway Protest and Compensation Committee, and to shift the direction to protest rather than compensation. Their aim was to raise a range of 'quality of urban life issues' - Patrick Mullins. "The struggle against Brisbane's freeways." Ph.D Thesis. Department of Anthropology and Sociology. University of Queensland. 1980. pp.302-07.

"control of the economy and the means of production should be in the hands of the people involved."[36] The prevailing abortion debate was commented upon, in favour of women's control of their reproductive capacity.[37]

The participants of the libertarian political tendency were also involved in local anti-uranium struggles, again on a different basis to the traditional left. They claimed that both the authoritarian left regimes and capitalist societies supported uranium mining and nuclear energy, to some extent for its potential profitability, but mainly because the centralisation of power and political control associated with nuclear technology favoured the interests of these regimes.[38] For instance, the Brisbane branch of Friends of the Earth linked uranium sales with broader social issues about power and control in Australia:[39]

> The political implications of a nuclear society are seldom stressed by anti-uranium groups but are of fundamental importance to winning this issue and towards providing a basis for change in society. No society in which energy sources, the means of production and decision-making power are in a few hands can be a free society. Nuclear power is a hierarchical structure and centralised energy source which is ideal in that it can be controlled by a few people ... The export of Australian yellow-cake is an important link in the nuclear industry.[40]

Friends of the Earth also promoted bicycles as alternatives to private cars as the dominant means of transport:

> Bicycles are a clean and efficient means of transport, they are easy to maintain and understand. Bicycling offers you control over your means of transport, and are

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[36] [Self-Management Group]. "Lessons of the flood". [Brisbane] [two page leaflet] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 25 February 1974.

[37] Discussed in [Self-Management Group]. "Who controls whose body - and why?" [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [197?].

[38] These issues were discussed in various leaflets, including: Libertarian Socialist Organisation. "Energy and society". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane]. Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.1977-79], Self-Management Organisation. "A self-managed society is the only nuclear shelter". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [197?] and Self-Management Group. "Leave uranium in the ground and build self-managed energy systems". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane]. Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [197?].

[39] Friends of the Earth. "Thinking of joining Friends of the Earth?" [two page information brochure and application for membership form] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.late 1970s]

[40] Friends of the Earth. "Picket Against the uranium shipment". [one page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 8 May [197?]

healthy, quiet, and inexpensive.[41]

Popular local campaigns were criticised for their failure to foster self-activity of the participants. For instance the Self-Management Group expressed criticism of the Moratorium marches which were convened to protest against Australian involvement in the Vietnam war, on the grounds that they disempowered participants and discouraged self-activity.[42] Criticism was also levelled at the civil liberties movement. It was seen as under the control of a few people and thus was inherently authoritarian. What was needed instead was the *conscious determination* to work towards more equal social relations.[43] Criticism was also levelled at the trade union movement. During a strike by the painters and dockers in 1972, union leaders were criticised for taking decisions 'on behalf' of the rank and file unionists.[44] In response to a health workers strike in 1974, non-union forms of work-place organisation and militancy were advocated.[45] An alternative to Medibank was also promoted during debates about its future under the Fraser Liberal Federal administration in the late 1970s. The Self-Management group suggested that in a self-managed society there would be less sickness, and it advocated self-managed district health centres.[46]

From the perspective of the libertarian tendency, self-activity was seen as an important objective to achieve for its own sake, as well as a means for working towards a self-managed society. Building mass movements based on fostering self-activity was central to the purpose

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[41] Friends of the Earth. "Bicycle Rally for Earth Day. [one page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [197?]

[42] They claimed that participation in marches created feelings of solidarity, followed by despondency and depression the following day. Self-Management Group. "Popular fronts and the Self-Management Group". [leaflet] [two page Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 1973.

[43] [Self-Management Group]. "Means and ends. The need for a democratic platform". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [197?] and Libertarian Socialist Organisation. "From civil liberties to freedom". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.1977-79].

[44] [Self-Management Group]. "E.D. solidarity - What a shambles". [one page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. 25 November 1972.

[45] [Self-Management Group]. "They can't stop things getting out of hand". [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.1974-5].

[46] [Self-Management Group]. "Medibank - A libertarian viewpoint. [two page leaflet] [Brisbane] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. [c.late 1970s].

of the libertarian movement. To this end, supporting popular struggles and movements was an important strategy, as the above examples indicate.

**strategy crisis again**

In the late 1970s and early 1980s another strategy crisis was looming nationally for the radical political movement. In the late 1970s, the policies of the Fraser Federal Government received a lot of attention, particularly in debates about Medibank and attacks on Austudy and the union movement. Many on the left were concerned about its lack of unity in the face of a strengthening right wing political climate.[47] During this period, the anti-uranium movement had flourished, in relation to concerns about uranium issues in Australia and French nuclear testing in the Pacific. The anti-uranium peace movement was a strong mass movement in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and gathered much support from the wider community. Uranium issues were controversial for a number of reasons, including concerns about nuclear weapons proliferation, risks of terrorist use of nuclear energy and possible civil liberties repercussions, and uranium mining in relation to Aboriginal land rights claims.[48] By 1980 the peace movement, encompassing a wider range of issues than nuclear ones, emerged throughout Australia. The principle catalysts were the failure of detente, the technological advances in range and accuracy of nuclear weapons, and debates about nuclear defence and first-strike capacity. The central demands from the peace movement were to halt the mining and export of uranium, a nuclear-free Pacific and Indian ocean, and withdrawal from ANZUS and removal of the US bases.[49]

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[47] See Elizabeth Eddy. "The Development of the 'Alternative Economic Strategy' Debate in Australia: 1976-1989". Honours Thesis. Division of Humanities, Griffith University. 1989.

[48] The preoccupation with uranium and related nuclear issues was apparent in the *Chain Reaction*, the publication of Friends of the Earth (Australia). The first edition, in May 1975, focused almost exclusively on uranium issues, and it continued to be a major theme in succeeding editions throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s. At that time, the Ranger and later the Fox Inquiries generated much controversy. The linking of uranium issues with others such as Aboriginal land rights, peace, and environmental issues was also apparent in these publications. Organisations to oppose uranium flourished around Australia. In Brisbane, Campaign Against Nuclear Power and the Campus Movement Against Uranium Mining were established in 1975 - George and Gyatt. *Political Organisations in Queensland*. 1983. pp.71-74 and 80-81 respectively. Campaign Against Nuclear Power was affiliated with Queensland Conservation Council and run from the same office in Brisbane.

[49] People for Nuclear Disarmament was started in Melbourne in October 1981. Other groups with this name were formed in other major urban centres throughout Australia - Brendan Cairns. "Stop the drop". *Staining the Wattle*. McPhee Gribble/Penguin Books. Fitzroy, Victoria. 1988. p.243. In Brisbane, People for Nuclear Disarmament was

The Hawke Federal Labor Government which took office in 1983 did not quell the concerns of these movements. The Labor Government's support for uranium mining at Roxby Downs and US bases was a major defeat for the peace, anti-uranium, and environment movements. The policy outcomes of the 1984 National Labor Conference further heightened the sense of urgency for the fragmented movements. Moreover fears of global catastrophe were intensifying, fuelled by increasingly apparent environmental degradation and risks of nuclear war.[50]

The fragmentation of the progressive forces which was apparent in major urban centres around Australia resulted in several national initiatives. One response was the discussion presented in the *Australian Left Review* about the need for a left renewal strategy. A different response was initiated by the Liffey Group in Tasmania, which sought to capitalise on the successes of the Taswilderness campaign.[51] Meanwhile other initiatives occurred around Australia, which attempted to capitalise upon the green symbol, discussed below. In Brisbane a local initiative for addressing the strategy vacuum resulted in the formation of the political green movement, which incorporated the mass movement and social issues orientation of the political counter-culture from which it came.

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formed in mid-1983. By mid-1985, it had a membership of 1,000, and additional 30 branches throughout Queensland - "Annual meeting for PND". *Common Ground*. Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. July/August. 1985. p.5, and "What is PND?" *Common Ground*. Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. July/August. 1985. p.6. In regional centres, apart from branches of People for Nuclear Disarmament, other peace groups were formed, including Move for Peace and Campaign Against Nuclear Power on the Sunshine Coast, and Surfers Advocating Nuclear Disarmament on the Gold Coast - "Peace groups in Queensland." *Common Ground*. [insert] Political Organisations in Queensland. Fryer Library, University of Queensland. November/December. 1985. The Rally for Peace Committee was started in 1980 to mobilise a public rally on an annual basis - George and Gyatt. *Political Organisations in Queensland*. 1983. pp.229-30.

[50] According to Cairns, the policy decisions made by the new Federal Labor Government were guided by attempts to please both the United states and the domestic peace movement - Cairns. "Stop the drop". 1988. pp.246-7. For instance, the Nuclear Disarmament Party emerged in 1984 to show wide-spread public opposition to the Labor Government's policies on uranium and nuclear armaments - Graham Maddox. "The Hawke Government". Ian McAllister and John Warhurst. eds. *Australia Votes. The 1987 Federal Election*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1988. p.27. Also, within a year of Labor Federal Government, a new political momentum had emerged in Sydney, to respond to Federal Labor's policies on green-house issues, uranium, French nuclear tests in the Pacific, US bases and warships, Kakadu mining, and Aboriginal land rights - "Green Political Network. Founding Conference. 9-10 September". [two page information leaflet and conference registration form] [Sydney] Author's collection. 1984.

[51] The Liffey Group (Liffey is a place in Tasmania) was "a group of about 20 people drawn together through personal affinity and connection with the Wilderness society" - stated in the first edition of the *Getting Together Newsletter*. Author's collection.

## UNITING MOVEMENTS BEHIND THE GREEN SYMBOL

As the above section indicates, the participants in the radical political movement involved themselves with current issues and conflicts, as vehicles for fostering self-activity for a self-managed society. The above section also draws attention to the strategy crisis facing the radical political movement in the early 1980s. This section addresses new attempts to mobilise a mass movement by building solidarity and identity around the green symbol. The green symbol represented both a growing preoccupation with ecological issues as the environment movement gathered momentum throughout Australia, as well as a means for overcoming the single-issue focus of the major movements. However, it also represented a genuine incorporation of ecological concerns into the libertarian humanist concerns, for a 'just, humane, and ecological society'.

### a new mass movement building strategy

On 18 July 1984 in Brisbane, a public meeting was convened by the Queensland School, "Does Australian Need a Green Party?". This public meeting, addressed by Drew Hutton, followed an informal meeting a month earlier by a range of activists, which considered ways to encourage more cooperation between the various movements.[52] The informal meeting aimed:

> to explore the idea of starting a political organisation drawing inspiration from, amongst other things, the German Green Party ... The consensus was that many valuable lessons learned during the struggles of the two previous two decades could bear fruit if combined with this fresh impulse.[53]

A press release advising of the public meeting stated that the formation of a Green Party

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[52] The Queensland School consisted of an ad hoc series of lectures, given by 1970s participants in the libertarian political tendency of the radical political movement, who were, or had since become, academics - Green Group. *Minutes 20 July 1984*. Author's collection. 1984. This particular lecture of the Queensland School was organised by Drew Hutton, who had a long history of involvement in the radical political movement. Since the late 1960s Hutton was active in the peace and civil liberties movements - see Drew Hutton. "What is Green politics?" Drew Hutton. ed. *Green Politics in Australia*. Angus and Robertson. North Rhyde, NSW. 1987. His purpose in this lecture was to instigate interest in the green movement. As this theis will show in this and succeeding chapters, Hutton played a significant role in initiating many campaigns, and in building the green movement in southeast Queensland and nationally.

[53] Green Group. *Minutes 20 July 1984* Author's collection. 1984.

would be proposed, which "would articulate the concerns of various social movements in a dynamic way which would cause a major realignment in Australian politics".[54] At the public meeting, the relevance of the German Green Parties to the Australian context was discussed. Following from this advertised meeting and several subsequent ones (meeting as the Green Group) over the next four months, the Green Party was formed at a Conference held in Brisbane on 9 December 1984 (referred to henceforth as the Brisbane Green Party to avoid confusion with other green Parties and groups).[55]

This July meeting had followed soon after the election of the new Federal Labour Government in 1983. This Government quickly dismayed many in the peace, environment, and social justice movements.[56] The July meeting also followed the demise of the War Resisters League, a libertarian organisation convened by People for Direct Democracy in 1981. The War Resisters League had aimed to interest the wider peace movement supporters in libertarian perspectives on the relationship between peace issues and problems endemic to contemporary society. The convenors of the organisation:

> felt dissatisfied with the takeover of the growing peace movement by groups such as the ALP and sought to create an organisation specifically around activities that fundamentally challenged the roots of militarism.[57]

The aims of this organisation reflected current concerns and demands raised by the broader peace movement, including: the removal of US bases, withdrawal from the ANZUS alliance, and unilateral nuclear disarmament.[58]

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[54] Queensland School. "Media release. Talk to be given at Queensland School, Uni. of Qld 18/7/84." [media release] [Brisbane]. Author's collection. 1984.

[55] Outlined in a photocopied letter sent to a range of people on behalf of the [Brisbane] Green Party, signed by Graham Jamieson, dated 17 February 1985. Author's collection.

[56] For instance, many of those who supported the formation of the Nuclear Disarmament Party in 1984 were concerned about the policy direction of the new Federal Labor Government. Their concerns included nuclear, Aboriginal, education, and economic issues, according to Jean Meltzer. Meltzer left the Labor Party in protest, following the fateful 1984 National Labor Conference, and helped to found the Nuclear Disarmament Party - "Jean Meltzer: No time to wait for Labor". *Direct Action*. no.502. pp.44-45.

[57] *War Resisters League Newsletter*. Author's Collection. no.1. 1981. p.1.

[58] Outlined in War Resister's League. *Join the People Who Aren't Joining the Army*. [broadsheet] [Brisbane] Author's Collection [c.1982], and War Resister's League. *Statement of Aims*. [broadsheet] [Brisbane]. Author's collection. 1981.

The War Resisters League failed to attract a broad-based membership, and also had to fight for a voice in the peace movement.[59] At its peak in 1982-83, the War Resisters League had about 120 members, most of whom had been participants in the 1970s radical political movement, especially the anti-war campaigning.[60] Meanwhile, the newly formed People for Nuclear Disarmament eventuated as the major mobilisation vehicle and umbrella organisation for the peace movement in Brisbane in the early 1980s.[61] The War Resisters League membership declined, and the organisation was defunct by late 1984.[62]

This political climate, together with the waning momentum of the libertarian wing of the peace movement, was the context in which the Queensland School convened the 18 July 1984 public meeting. The public meeting was attended by about 50 people, many of them previous members of the War Resisters League. In addition, there were some participants from the Brisbane-based alternative community movement.[63] Their reasons for attendance at this meeting included specific reference to the disappointment in the new Federal Labor Government and the outcomes of the 1984 Labor National Conference. Another reason was to foster community building and personal empowerment, reflecting the *self-activity* of the radical political movement. A third reason was the recognition of the necessity for a more coherent mass movement and the establishment of common goals for doing so, rather than

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[59] A conflict within the Brisbane peace movement at that time was the threatened withdrawal of Labor Party support for the Rally for Peace, should the rally be used to criticise Labor Party policy. The Peace Rally was started in 1980 - see George and Gyatt. *Publication of Political Organisations in Queensland*. 1983. p.229. The War Resisters' League established decentralised speaking platforms at the Peace Rallies to rival the formal one to raise. The aim was to voice these otherwise silenced issues, as part of their endeavour to 'democratise' popular movements - discussed in the *War Resisters' League Newsletter*. Author's collection.

[60] Most of the names in the minutes and other documentation of the Brisbane Green Party were also present on the membership list of the War Resister's League - War Resister's League. *Mailing List*. [Brisbane] Author's collection. 1982 and War Resister's League. *Mailing List*. [Brisbane]. Author's collection. 1983.

[61] For information about People for Nuclear Disarmament, see Chapter Five: Strategy Crisis Again (footnote).

[62] The final newsletter of the War Resisters' League indicates that a 'broad front' campaign to oppose (US) warships visiting Brisbane was initiated, involving members of the War Resisters' League and the newly formed People for Nuclear Disarmament - Elizabeth Winters. "Opposition to US war ships". *War Resisters' League Newsletter*. Author's collection. no.6. c.mid-1984. pp.9-10.

[63] Many of the participants had previous involvement in the anti-Vietnam war, anti-apartheid, womens and civil liberties movements. They also represented various ideological strands in the progressive movements, including socialist, anarchist, marxist, although also present were participants in the womens, alternative community and libertarian movements. This information was listed in the minutes of the Green Group in which participants introduced themselves - Green Group. *Minutes 20/7/84.*

continuing to respond to a series of crises.[64]

The timing of this organisational initiative also corresponded with the increasing prominence of environmental issues on local, state and federal governments agendas. Public attitude towards green issues had changed substantially since the 1970s. The conservation movement had been successful over the 1970s and early 1980s in mobilising a great deal of public support for their nature preservation concerns. The growing public concern about ecological issues was highlighted by the successful campaign to oppose the damming of the Franklin River in Tasmania.[65] The green vote had emerged as a significant voting bloc with appreciable impacts on state and federal electoral outcomes.[66] It had become politically expedient for political parties and administrations to promote a green image. Moreover, apart from referring to the natural environment, the built environment had also been the focus of green campaigns in Australia, notably through the Green Bans campaign under the leadership of unionist Jack Mundey. This campaign opposed urban developments in Sydney which were unwelcome to the residents. [67]

Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Four, over the 1970s the radical political movement had to some extent taken on board growing environmental concerns.[68] By the early 1980s in several parts of Australia, the green symbol had been appropriated by elements of the radical political and alternative community movements, in contrast with the conservationist

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[64] At the early meetings of the Green Group, participants stated their reasons for being involved in this initiative - Green Group. *Minutes 20/7/84.*

[65] Tasmanian Wilderness Society convened a huge nation-wide campaign to prevent the damming of the Franklin River in Tasmania. The Tasmanian Wilderness Society was formed in 1981 and quickly gained a membership of 3,000. By late 1981 membership nation-wide was over 8,000. A poll published in the Sydney Morning Herald in October 1982 showed that 75% of respondents were opposed to the dam. Rallies opposing the dam at times attracted more than 20,000 people. The Federal Labor Party promised to prevent the dam if they won office in the 1983 elections, and successfully contested a High Court challenge by the Tasmanian Government in favour of preventing the dam - James McQueen. *The Franklin: Not Just a River.* Penguin Books. Ringwood, Victoria. 1983.

[66] Elizabeth Eddy. "The Queensland Green Movement". [conference paper delivered to the Defining Queensland Conference, Griffith University, 9-10 December 1993] 1993.

[67] For background to the Green Bans campaigns, see - Richard Roddewis. *Green Bans. The Birth of the Australian Environmental Movement. A Study of Public Opinion and Participation.* Hale and Iremonger. Sydney. 1978 and Peter Manning and Marion Harding. *Green Bans.* Australian Conservation Foundation. Melbourne. 1975.

[68] See Chapter Four: Ecological Dimension of the Rustic Ideal.

movements' previous virtual monopoly of it. For instance, green parties were established independently from each other in New South Wales, South Australia, and Western Australia. In New South Wales the green political movement was initiated by some disillusioned ex-ALP members, intent on establishing political parties which retained control at the grassroots.[69] The green parties in New South Wales were primarily concerned with urban and local politics, aimed at community development and conflict resolution. In Tasmania, the Green Independents were strongly associated with the conservation movement.[70] Moreover, throughout Australia, the alternative community movement was increasingly concerned with ecological issues, and in particular, with the sustainable lifestyles project discussed in Chapter Four.

In Brisbane, the sustainable lifestyles project of the alternative community movement also had a presence. This was expressed largely in terms of the establishment of food co-operatives and low environmental impact technology supplies, as well as promotion of permaculture supplies and practices.[71] Friends of the Earth remained linked to the broader radical political community through cross membership with other groups. The main environmental issue was uranium mining, in part because it also correlated with the preoccupation with peace issues in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Moreover, the rustic ideal was promoted by parts of the radical political movement in the early 1980s. For instance,

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[69] The formation of the Sydney Greens was convened by some expelled members from the ALP who had been involved in a 'green faction'. Their aim, following expulsion, was to form a Greens party, of "ecologists, environmental and residential activists, nuclear disarmers, dissidents from the Labor Party, feminists, socialists of all kinds, anarchists and alternatives, those inspired by the German Greens", on a platform of "liberty, ecology, and disarmament" - "The Greens in Sydney". [two page leaflet advertising the inaugural meeting of what became the Sydney Greens] [Sydney]. Author's collection. [1984]. By 1989, their platform was "ecological sustainability, social and economic equality, grassroots democracy, and disarmament/non-violence" - "The Greens Party". [two page leaflet] [Sydney] Author's collection. 13 October 1989.

[70] The United Tasmanian Group was formed in 1972 following the failure of the conservation movement to prevent the flooding of Lake Pedder. The Tasmanian Green Independents ran in the 1980 Tasmanian state elections to raise environmental issues. One candidate was successful in 1980. In 1989, five Green Independents won seats in the Tasmanian House of Assembly. The candidates endeavoured to present themselves as different from conventional parties, by running as independents on specific issues. To some extent their electoral success was made possible by the Hare-Clark proportional representation system of voting for the House of Assembly - see Graham Maddox. "Political stability, independents and the two party system". *Current Affairs Bulletin*. vol.69. no.1. 1992. pp.21-22 and Elim Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment: the Australian Experience*. Allen and Unwin. St. Leonards, NSW. 1993.

[71] See Chapter Four: Ecological Dimension of the Rustic Ideal.

the West End Catholic Worker promoted rural communal ways of life.[72] While the rustic ideal, in this instance, first came from religious communal life, it nonetheless corresponded with the ideals of the counter-culture. The 1983 Red and Black Bookshop promotional calender depicted a rural village scene reproduced from Bookchin's publication, *Towards an Ecological Society* (see diagram 7).[73]

These factors suggest that adopting a green identity reflected to some extent the genuine growing ecological dimension in at least some parts of the radical political movement in Brisbane, and more generally around Australia. However, the green identity also reflected an opportunity for mass mobilisation in relation to the rise of the green political movement overseas, spearheaded by the electoral successes of the German Green Party. In the general election of 6 March 1983, the West German Greens had won 27 seats in the parliament out of a total of 598, with 5.6% of the vote.[74] The identification by this initiative with the German Greens and wider green political movement also had implications for the mass movement building strategy characteristic of the radical political movement, associated with the meaning attributed to the green symbol by the international green movement.

**the West German Greens and mass movement building**

The intention of the new green initiative in Brisbane was to precipitate a "re-alignment" of contemporary movements, meaning the enhancement of cooperation on the basis of a shared recognition of the problems endemic to contemporary society.[75] Identification with the international green political movement had two rationales. The first was the correspondence between the concerns and issues of the German Greens and the participants in this initiative. The second was the strategic value for mass movement building of identification with an

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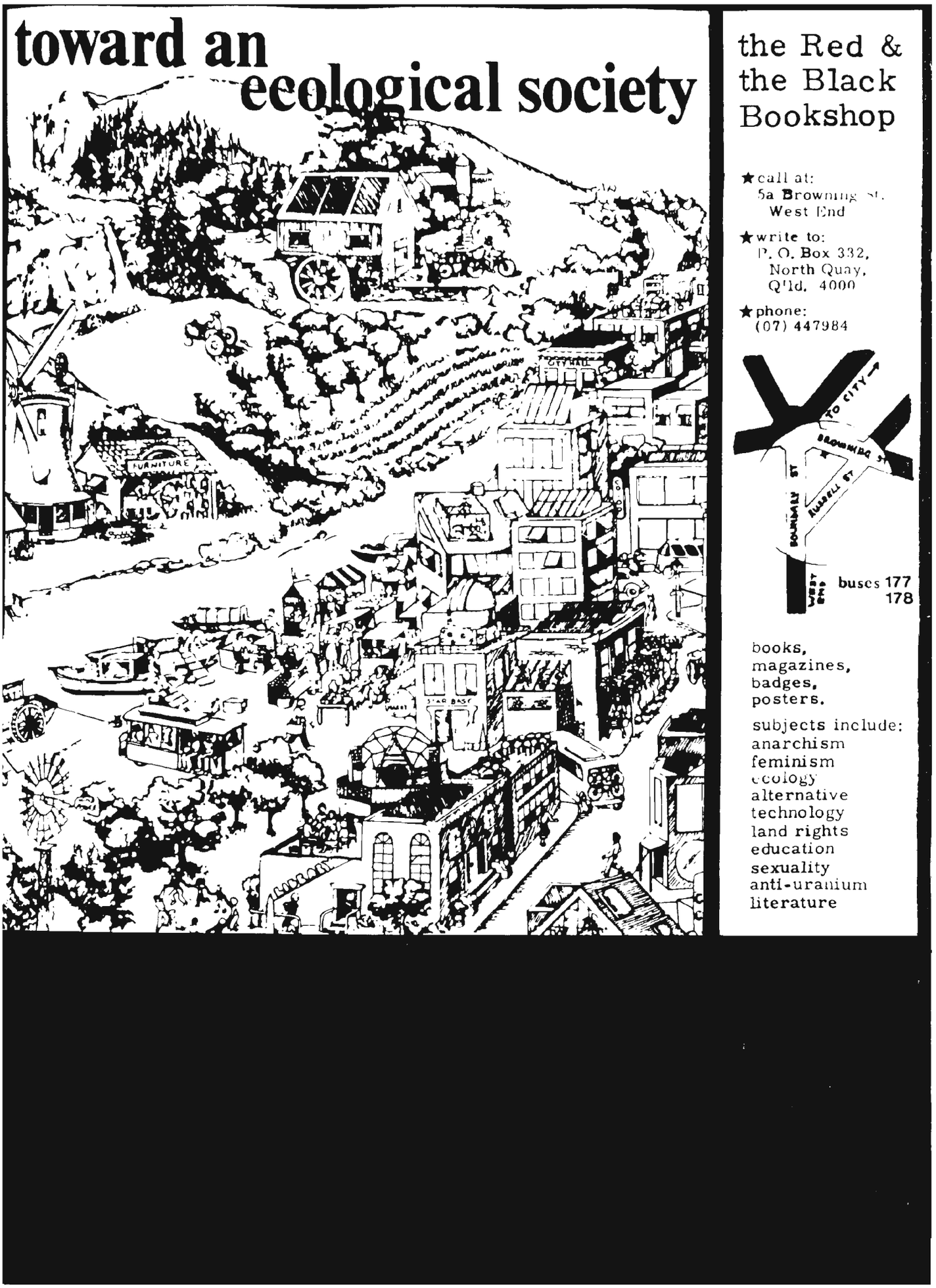
[72] In 1984 the Brisbane branch of Catholic Worker had found a property in a rural area to set up a community - Catholic Worker. "Experimenting with the rural vision." *Mutual Aid*. Author's collection. June/July. 1984. u.p.,, and Catholic Worker. "Rural vision." *Mutual Aid*. Author's collection. Spring. May. 1984. u.p.

[73] Murray Bookchin. *Toward an Ecological Society*. Black Rose Books. Montreal. 1980.

[74] Wolfgang Rudig. "The greening of Germany." *The Ecologist*. vol.13. no.1. 1983. pp.35-39. Rudig was an activist in the West German Greens and a close associate of Petra Kelly. In this article he discusses the background and history of the West German Greens.

[75] Queensland School. "Media release. Talk to be given at Queensland School, Uni. of Qld 18/7/84." 1984.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subjects include:
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feminism
ecology
alternative
technology
land rights
education
sexuality
anti-uranium
literature

**diagram 7**

the "increased democratisation of society", and the "empowerment of all people".[78]

This accord between the War Resister's League and the German Greens is not surprising, in that the Australian radical political movement and the international movements had strong links. However, identification by this new initiative with the international green political movement also had strategic value for mass movement building within and across movements. The German Greens promoted a platform of the "four pillars" of ecology, social justice, grass-roots democracy and nonviolence.[79] This platform represented the major preoccupations of the contemporary movements in Germany. However they were also similar to those in Australia, the world having been swept by the environmental, peace, and womens movement. Promotion of this initiative appealed to the common concerns of those in the contemporary movements. The 18 July public meeting was identified by the organiser as arising from the same circumstances as the German Greens:

> The formation of a Green Party is the logical step for those who are appalled at many of the decisions of the recent ALP Conference ... the situation which created the Green Party in West Germany was parallelled by what was now happening in Australia.[80]

Following the formation of the Green Party in Brisbane, support was sought for it on the basis that this party would represent the range of issues currently spread over various single issue movements:

> We regard single issue movements in Australia as vital because they challenge some of the most destructive values in our culture. To be most effective we feel that we need to develop a party which articulates the concerns of these social movements and present a just, humane and ecological alternative.[81]

Promotion of the Brisbane Green Party also stressed the multi-issues basis of this organisation, which aimed to reflect the major issues of concern to the contemporary movements. The Political Program of the Brisbane Green Party presented a platform very

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[78] These perspectives are outlined in the broadsheets produced by the War Resisters' League - War Resister's League. *Statement of Aims*. [1981] and War Resister's League. *Join the People who Aren't Joining the Army*. [c.1982].

[79] German Greens. *Preamble*. c.1983.

[80] Queensland School. "Media release. Talk to be given at Queensland School, Uni. of Qld 18/7/84." 1984.

[81] Stated in a photocopied letter sent to a range of people on behalf of the [Brisbane] Green Party, signed by Graham Jamieson, dated 17 February 1985.

similar to the all-embracing German Greens' platform: a non-nuclear and non-aligned Australia, social and economic equality, participatory democracy, and environmental sustainability.[82] Moreover, many movements and struggles were represented as part of the green movement:

> Green politics in Australia is in rather a confusing phase ... In this one city there is a Green party, a civil liberties activist group with predominantly green politics ... [Citizens for Democratic Rights] ... a Qld [sic] organising committee for the Getting Together Conference next Easter in Sydney, PND [People for Nuclear Disarmament] edits a magazine called *Common Ground*, there are groups like the Australian Association of Sustainable Communities and so on and so on. As yet, there does not seem to be a strong impetus towards achieving the sort of organisational unity necessary for a well established green movement in this state. However, it is hard to deny that the basis for such a movement is there. The Green Party's role in achieving this unity will be vital ... [A] major Green Party conference early next year ... will address itself primarily to reviewing our basic philosophical principles and our relationship with the Australia wide green movement [referring to the Getting Together Conference convened for Easter 1986].[83]

Identification of this new initiative with the international green political movement also had strategic value for mass movement building, for enhancing its credibility in the eyes of the public. Therefore, establishing an overt identification with the overseas green political movement was also attempted:[84]

> In an age when our planet is put in daily peril by nuclear weapons, ecological disasters and widespread famine, there is a desperate need for an alternative to competitive and exploitative approaches which characterise political life ... Here in Queensland the political culture is dominated by extremists who control the National Party State Government. This Government thinks nothing of destroying nature for profit and abolishing such basic human rights as free speech and the right to strike. Unfortunately, the other major political parties are merely pale shadows of the National party ... The unwillingness of mainstream parties to come to terms with the major social justice and environmental issues facing today's society is the main guarantee of our continuing existence.[85]

At a later date, references continued to be made to this issue:

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[82] Brisbane Green Party. *Political Program of the Green Party*. Author's collection. [c.1984-85]. u.p.

[83] "Editorial". *Green Pieces. Newsletter of the Green Party*. Author's collection. no.1. 1985. p.3.

[84] References were made to the similarities between the Green Party in Brisbane and the German Greens as part of a wider movement in the policy material - Brisbane Green Party. *Political Program*. [c.1985-85] u.p. Also the Green Group made a decision to adopt the spirit of the German Greens Preamble - Green Group. *Minutes 20/7/84*.

[85] "Battle for Brisbane". *Sunday Mail*. Brisbane. 24 March 1985. p.17.

> The Green Party was inspired by the example of the West German Green Party and arose out of disillusionment with the conservative electoral policies of the ALP.[86]

**why form a party?**

In view of the criticism of mainstream political parties and the overall critique of liberal democratic society, it was interesting that this initiative was named the Green *Party*, with the intention of contesting elections. For instance, the July public meeting was convened on the basis of forming a party:

> To be most effective we feel that we need to develop a party which articulates the concerns of these social movements and present a just, humane and ecological alternative.[87]

This strategy was justified with reference to other green electoral activities in Australia:

> The major areas for electoral activity by a Green Party would obviously be local councils, where green-type candidates have already been successful in many parts of Australia and the Senate because of its proportional system of voting,[88]

and also by the example of the successful West German Greens, with the adoption of the Preamble at the first Green Group meeting.[89] Debate about whether or not to include the term 'party' in the name of the organisation reflected differing views about the proposed role of this green initiative.[90] At a meeting early in the formation process of the Brisbane Green Party, concerns were expressed about the importance of "mass politics" which should not be jeopardised by engagement in electoral activity. A motion was adopted, stating that:

> We recognise the necessity of networking amongst social change groups but our role is to form a party which maintains links with social activist groups and which engages

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[86] This was stated in a photocopied letter sent to a range of people on behalf of the [Brisbane] Green Party, signed by Graham Jamieson, dated 17 February 1985.

[87] Queensland School. "Media release. Talk to be given at Queensland School, Uni. of Qld 18/7/84." 1984.

[88] Queensland School. "Media release. Talk to be given at Queensland School, Uni. of Qld 18/7/84." 1984.

[89] Green Group. *Minutes 20/7/84.*

[90] Early meetings of the Green Group discussed the proposed name, including debate about whether this initiative would be an alliance or a 'party' - Green Group. *Minutes 3/8/84* Author's collection. 1984, and Green Group. *Minutes 17/8/84.* Author's collection. 1984.

in both electoral and extra-Parliamentary action.[91]

One reason for trepidation about forming a political party arose from concerns about the fate of the short-lived Nuclear Disarmament Party. The single-issue and electoral focus of this party had apparently generated many problems.[92]

However, the formation of a party was also viewed as having the potential for fulfilling the aims of self-activity, with reference to the internal organisation and processes of the party. For instance, conducting the Brisbane Green Party democratically was considered essential. Group process was highlighted as an important issue in the informal July 20 meeting, in which it was agreed that "intensive work on our aims, processes of decision-making, structure, and core elements of our identity as a group, be undertaken".[93] Group process and organisational structure was referred to constantly through the minutes of the Green Group meetings.[94] A conference proposal draft to inaugurate the Brisbane Green Party was mooted as addressing a range of strategies issues such as aims, objectives and role. Amongst these were issue such as:

> monitoring processes to see what types of human and procedural dynamics are being introduced inadvertently or otherwise into the processes of the 'Green Party', and

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[91] Green Group. *Minutes 17/8/84.* 1984.

[92] The main issues around which the Nuclear Disarmament Party was formed in 1984 were opposition to nuclear war, referring to the removal of foreign bases and banning nuclear weapons from Australian air-space, land and waters, and uranium mining. The Nuclear Disarmament Party quickly formed branches in major urban centres around Australia, within six months recruiting about 8,000 people. Within the Nuclear Disarmament Party there was disagreement about whether a Nuclear Disarmament Party candidate, if elected, should vote on issues not related to these - see "Single-issue politics". *The Age*. Election '84 [supplement]. 22 November 1984, and Jean Meltzer. "Why Australians need the NDP". *The Age*. Election '84 [supplement] 28 November 1984. The Nuclear Disarmament Party had some electoral successes. Jo Vallentine, a Western Australian candidate, won a federal senate seat in the 1984 federal elections, as did Robert Woods for New South Wales in 1987 - Ian McAllister and John Warhurst. "Introduction". Ian McAllister and John Warhurst. eds. *Australia Votes. The 1987 Federal Election*. Longman Cheshire. Melbourne. 1988. p.4. Also see Papadakis for background to the Nuclear Disarmament Party - Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. pp.181-82.

[93] Green Group. *Minutes 20/7/84.*

[94] For example, the 31 August 1984 meeting of the Green Group had small group discussions, one of which was about 'internal organisational processes'. This meeting also agreed in future to appoint a 'process watcher' to ensure every-one got a chance to contribute - Green Group. *Minutes 31/8/1984*. Author's collection. 1984. The Green Group also discussed the strengths and weaknesses of consensus decision-making, as a means of co-operative decision-making - Green Group. *Minutes 17/8/1984.*

whether these are essentially beneficial or not.[95]

A special all-day workshop was convened in August 1985, devoted to internal structure and group processes.[96] Thus, the Brisbane Green Party was proposed as an alternative to mainstream political parties in its policies *and* its methods:

> We attempt to replace the dominance-submission mentality which characterises most political behaviour with more human and democratic ways of relating. Therefore, the conduct of our meetings, and the non-sectarian, non-dogmatic ways we deal with both political allies and opponents are attempts to reflect these values.[97]

Later conflicts within the organisation generated discussion papers which also focused on the need to have good processes as an end in itself.[98]

The formation of a party was also justified in terms of its potential for fulfilling the aim of supporting popular struggles. For instance, a party was considered a means for fostering the participation of people in political processes:

> Our intention is to reinvigorate public participation and support for these movements, not to absorb this support into a 'representative' Green Party.[99]

That is, the Brisbane Green Party was paradoxically to be a "social alternative" to parties and pressure group politics:

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[95] Draft Proposals for an inaugural 'Green Party' Conference, prepared for 3 August 1984 meeting of the 'green group'. Author's collection. [c.September 1984]

[96] Agenda for 31 August 1985 'group process and internal structure' workshop. Author's collection. [c.August 1984].

[97] Drew Hutton quoted in the "Battle for Brisbane." 24 March 1985. p.17.

[98] Some members presented letters to the Green Party expressing criticism of the group dynamics and actions by some members, for instance: John Tracey. "Secrecy in the Green Party. An Awful Way to do Politics". [two page discussion paper] [Brisbane] Author's collection. [c.1986] and John Murray. "Factionalism." [two page discussion paper] [Brisbane] Author's collection. [c.1986]. Murray urges members to attend the group process workshop, as a means for resolving internal problems.

Regarding the group process workshop, while internally democratic groups and campaigns had long been promoted, the early 1980s saw a significant change through the adoption of nonviolence training practices. The first workshop was convened and run by Peter Jones, a Quaker activist organised workshops for activists around Australia. A group of people continued these in Brisbane, first the Nonviolence Study Group, and then nationally, Groundswell after it formed as a nonviolence movement/organisation. The War Resister's League, in conjunction with Peter Jones, ran the nonviolence training workshop in June 1984 to enhance organisational and campaigning skills - "Non-violence training weekend." *War Resisters' League Newsletter*. Author's collection. no.5. p.16.

[99] Stated in a photocopied letter sent to a range of people on behalf of the [Brisbane] Green Party, signed by Graham Jamieson, dated 17 February 1985.

> A Green Party would have to be more than a group which pressured governments on certain issues. On the contrary, it would present a social alternative to the people of Australia. This would be concerned with such questions as maintaining harmonious relationship with the environment and decentralising society to make possible a revitalisation of community life and grassroots democracy.[100]

Thus, debate about the appropriateness of electoral campaigns was resolved in favour of conceptualising the party as an alternative institution, in keeping with the radical culture(s) of the participants. That is, standing candidates in government elections was not seen as participating in the political process in the sense of condoning it. Instead, this strategy was seen as using the electoral system as a means to promote their radical project and contribute towards building a mass movement and promoting participatory democracy:

> However the existing powerlessness of people in their local communities makes it difficult for them to achieve this [power to revitalise community life] on their own. Therefore, direct government - including that of local government - is necessary to assist this process.[101]

This initiative in Brisbane which resulted in the formation of the Green Party is referred to as the green political movement. Although at this stage, this movement is ensconced in an organisation. The movement building endeavour involved to some extent increasing the membership of this organisation. More importantly, it was considered a means for fostering self-activity more generally.

**towards a 'just, humane, and ecological society'**

The ecological dimension of the Brisbane Green Party was not merely the addition of environmental concerns to the social agenda. It reflected new ecological perspectives in which prevailing ecological problems were also linked to systemic failure. As discussed in Chapter Four, the radical political culture had begun to consider ecological issues within the framework of the humanist critique of industrial society.[102] Also philosophies which challenged the anthropocentrism of radical social philosophies grounded in humanism were

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[100] Queensland School. "Media release. Talk to be given at Queensland School, Uni. of Qld 18/7/84. 1984.

[101] Brisbane Green Party. *Policy of Revitalising Local Communities*. Author's collection. [c.1985]. u.p.

[102] See Chapter Four: Humanism and Ecology.

gaining in popularity. As shown in Chapter Four, the philosophy of deep ecology was gaining widespread interest, as an alternative to the 'shallow' ecology of environmentalism.[103] Eco-feminism was another perspective, in which domination of women by men, and of nature by humanity, was seen to be linked to the culture of domination and control of patriarchal society.[104] Bookchin's publication, *Towards an Ecological Society*, was widely circulated in the radical political movement in Brisbane in the early 1980s.[105] Bookchin promoted social ecology, a libertarian version of an ecological society.

For the Brisbane Green Party, ecological issues were seen as intrinsically linked to the broader social critique of industrial society. Rather than the narrow environmentalism of the conservation movement, the political green movement linked ecological devastation with the root causes of social injustice:

> We are part of a world-wide movement which is growing as a result of the threats to the planet and the well-being of its citizens. At fault are those elites who see the pursuit of economic growth as all-important. Because of their decisions, real human needs are not being met. There are many problems caused by those who control modern, industrial societies. The most terrifying of these are the twin dangers of nuclear war and ecological devastation. And, at the everyday level, the quest by so many for a peaceful, meaningful life is thwarted.[106]

The structural imperative towards economic growth in capitalism and industrialism was seen as the main cause of ecological and social problems:

> Industrial society has led us into a battle with nature, a concept of time based on the way a machine operates, rather than how nature operates. It starts from the

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[103] According to Sylvan, 'shallow ecology' is associated with anthropocentric approaches to human society and the environment. 'Deep ecology' "appears to be some elaboration of the position that natural things other than humans have value in themselves, value sometimes perhaps exceeding that of or had by humans". Richard Sylvan. "A critique of deep ecology". *Radical Philosophy*. Summer. No.40. 1985. p.10.For further discussion, see Arne Naess. "The shallow and the deep, long-range ecology movement. A summary". *Inquiry*. no.16. 1973. pp.95-100, Freya Mathews. "Conservation and the politics of deep ecology". *Social Alternatives*. vol.6. no.4. 1987. pp.37-41, and Arne Naess. "A defence of the deep ecology movement". *Environmental Ethics*. vol.6. no.3. 1984. pp.265-70.

[104] Ariel Salleh was a strong proponent of eco-feminism in Australia. She was invited to address a Brisbane Green Party meeting, and to include a chapter in Drew Hutton. ed. *Green Politics in Australia*. Angus and Robertson. North Rhyde, NSW. 1987.

[105] As stated earlier in this chapter, the Red and Black Bookshop used the front cover of this publication on the 1983 calender (diagram 4).

[106] Brisbane Green Party. *Political Program*. c.[1984-85] u.p.

> proposition that modern science and technology have emphasised such concepts as hierarchy, economic growth, the machine as a model for society. This has got us into a position where industrial societies - capitalist and communist - see economic growth as an end in itself, and where nature is something to be exploited.[107]

Ecological problems were conceptualised as arising from the same causes as the social problems identified by the (libertarian) political counter-culture. Accordingly, their resolution was linked with the formation of a new society, grounded in non-exploitative social relations:

> Proceeding from the patterns of nature, and especially from the knowledge that unlimited growth is impossible in a limited system, an ecological policy means understanding ourselves and our environment as part of nature. Human life, too, is enmeshed in the web of life. We intervene in it by our actions and this reacts back on us. We must not destroy the integrity of the ecosystem. In particular, an ecological policy implies an all-round rejection of an economy based on exploitation and the uncontrolled pillage of natural wealth and raw materials. This policy also involves refraining from destructive intervention in the webs of the natural ecosystem. It is our conviction that the exploitation of both nature and human beings much be countered by human beings, in order to repel an acute and serious threat to life.[108]

Thus the problematic relationship between social and ecological outcomes was attributed to inherent problems with industrial and capitalist society. The environmental policy of the Brisbane Green Party was clear about the link between social and environmental issues:

> The Green Party's approach to environmental issues has its basis in an ecological view of the world which we call social ecology. This is the conviction that human being's obsession with dominating nature is intimately linked with the practice of domination by human by human. While our society is organised around a system of elites, the project of dominating nature will continue to exist and inevitably lead our planet to ecological devastation. Our goal is an environmentally sustainable society. Such a goal would be impossible without also achieving a society which also practiced social and economic equality and the maximum degree of participatory democracy.[109]

Representations of the ecological society were expressed in the imagery of the organisational material. Brisbane Green Party material depicted images of urban expressions of the rustic ideal, as the articulation of a 'just and humane ecological society'. For instance, the front cover page of a conference convened by the Brisbane Green Party showed an image of a

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[107] "Battle for Brisbane". 24 March 1985. p.17.

[108] Brisbane Green Party. *Political Program*. [c.1984-85]. u.p.

[109] Brisbane Green Party. *Summary Environmental Policy*. Author's collection. [c.1985]. u.p.

fruit-bearing tree, in which the symbols of the various movements represented the fruit. The roots grew in soil representing a Brisbane transformed into an idyllic rural setting (see diagram 8).[110] That is, the ecological society was one in which the humanist and ecological dimensions of the rustic ideal could thrive: as a model for an alternative society which added social justice ideals to the rustic ideal. These social justice concerns were represented in the Political Program and policies of the Brisbane Green Party.

## GREEN URBAN ISSUES AND POPULAR STRUGGLES

This section addresses the endeavour to achieve the 'just, humane, and ecological' society, within reference to self-activity and support for popular struggles to achieve a self-managed society. Accordingly, it section follows the interest by the political green movement in the urban unrest in southeast Queensland in the early 1980s. This section shows that the residents issues were appropriated to demonstrate the problems with the system, and to facilitate the self-activity of the residents. This section also discusses the basis of urban dissent expressed by residents, with respect to its political and institutional context. Lastly, this section addresses the endeavour to transform local government, and tensions about this experienced in the political green movement.

### supporting popular urban struggles

From the early beginnings of the political green movement, it was necessary for a focus to be found for the endeavour to build a 'just, humane, and ecological society'. An opportunity was afforded by the growing popular struggles over urban development which rose in the 1970s, and continued throughout the early 1980s. Residents protest in the early 1980s had proliferated in Brisbane in relation to the continuing massive demographic change, economic development, and accompanying urban policy. The tourism industry had flourished along the fertile coastline, particularly in the Gold Coast and Sunshine Coast, as well as in some northern areas such as Cairns and Far North regions. However most of the demographic shift

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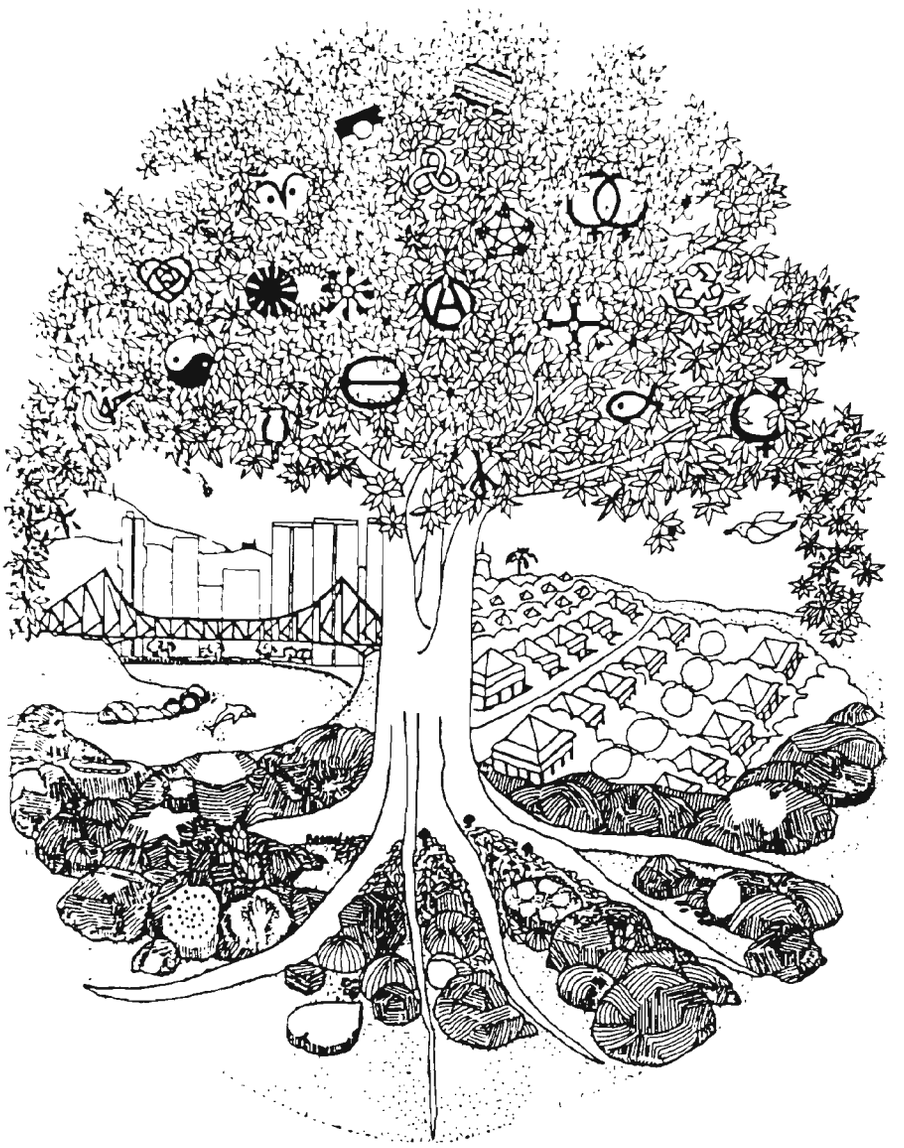
[110] Brisbane Green Party. *Green Perspectives, Green Challenges. A Conference.* [conference papers for conference convened in Brisbane 28 February 1986] Author's collection. 1986.



"green perspectives , green challenges"

a conference .

# GREEN PARTY

P.O. Box 212, WEST END 4101

**diagram 8**

was towards the southeast corner of the state, particularly around the Brisbane region.[111] There was a growth in residents groups which expressed concerns about the effects of rapid change. While many residents groups were members of the Queensland Conservation Council, they worked largely in isolation from one and other.[112] Urban protest at this time was largely sporadic, protest oriented, and defensive.

The Brisbane Green Party decided to contest the forth-coming 1985 Brisbane City Council elections. A press release distributed by the Brisbane Green Party urged the community to mobilise around these elections:

> There are groups in a number of areas in Queensland which have views similar to those of the Green Party and these groups should realise how crucial the coming elections will be ... Development and big business lobbies are organising to take over local councils in order to remove existing restrictions of development ... Victories by these lobbies would be to leave the natural environment and viable community life prey to developers ... There are many initiatives which councils can take to foster development which is socially and environmentally viable. These can come from both the traditional private enterprise sources and council-supported work co-operatives.[113]

Four candidates were fielded in the wards of Brisbane, Spring Hill, The Gabba, Inala, and a Lord Mayoral candidate was also fielded.[114]

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[111] The Brisbane-Gold Coast and Brisbane-Sunshine Coast regions were found to be the two fastest growing areas in Australia, followed in tenth position by eastern Brisbane region - Population Issues Committee *Population Issues and Australia's Future*. Australian Government Publishing Service. Canberra. 1992. p.9. To some extent the population increase resulted from the spin-offs of mineral wealth - Patrick Mullins. "Australian urbanisation and Queensland's underdevelopment." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. vol.4. no.2. 1980. p.213. However other significant factors in the population expansion resulted from a population shift from depressed rural regions and migration from the southern states. This had been enhanced by the migration of people from the declining economic performances of the most populous (and industrialised) states, seeking either jobs or a retirement destination which had appropriate amenities such as those tourism destinations offer - Paul Boreham Geoff Dow, Craig Littler and Randal Stewart. *Society and Economy in Queensland. The Strategic Role of the Public Sector*. Labour and Industry Research Unit. Brisbane. 1988.pp.13-17.

[112] Research by Caulfield indicates the increasing degree of activism in Brisbane around urban issues over the 1980s - see Caulfield, Jan. "Planning policy options for Brisbane's growth". Paper delivered to the Power and Policy in Brisbane Conference, Centre for Public Sector Management, Griffith University. 30-31 October 1992. The proliferation of urban groups affiliated with Queensland Conservation Council contributed to an unwieldy work-load for this organisation. The Convenor proposed that a separate organisation be established to deal with urban-related issues - Liz Bourne. "Editorial". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.7. no.3. 1986. p.1.

[113] Brisbane Green Party. "*Media Release. Green Party calls for action on local government.*" [one page media release] Brisbane. Author's collection. [c.early 1985].

[114] An open letter to "members and supporters of the Green Party", signed by Drew Hutton on behalf of the Brisbane Green Party. Author's collection. [c.April 1985].

To some extent the decision to support the residents movement can be understood in terms of the long history of appropriation of issues and movements by participants in the radical political movement.[115] Campaigning about the 'city' provided an opportunity to raise the profile of the long-standing concerns of the radical political and libertarian movements. Initially this opportunity was couched in terms of advocating a "peaceful city." This reflected the peace culture which was the primary articulation of the anti-systemic orientation of the green political movement at that time.[116] Early political green movement material consistently raised current nuclear and uranium issues in relation to Brisbane, including visiting nuclear warships, nuclear-free zoning, and transport of yellow-cake.[117] However, the notion of a peaceful city represented an alternative future for Brisbane, consistent with the endeavour to build a just, humane, and ecological society. For instance, a peaceful city was one that: was not violent, was a satisfying place to live, achieved social and economic equality, and was democratic. "Harmonising relationships between people and nature" was seen as a means for achieving a peaceful city. Thus a peaceful city was also an ecological one, in relation to environmental protection issues such as recycling and hazardous waste and industry issues - issues which were controversial at that time. It was also ecological in terms of fostering "spiritual qualities" through personal experience with the natural environment.[118]

Moreover, the city became the focus for developing a strategy for building a 'just, humane, and ecological society', through what was defined by this movement as urban issues. For instance, the cover page of the Green Perspectives, Green Challenges Conference in early 1986, depicted symbols representing feminism, ecology, social justice, Australian Independence, eastern and western spirituality, land rights, anarchism, and alternative energy

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[115] Pakulski notes that the orientation is context-specific, therefore can change without altering the fundamental directionality - see Chapter Two: Plurality of Dimensions.

[116] Refer back to passage about the War Resister's League.

[117] For instance, Hutton, as the spokesperson and Mayoral candidate for the Brisbane Green Party, made references to a 'peaceful city', and linked the 'global nuclear network' with the visiting warships in Brisbane - Drew Hutton. "Looking for Harmony." *Courier Mail*. Brisbane. 28 March 1985. p.5. Also, the election campaign material for the mayoral candidate was structured around the four principles of a non-aligned non-nuclear Australia, specifying US nuclear warship visits, uranium mining issues, and non-aligned defence policy.

[118] Drew Hutton. "Looking for Harmony." *Courier Mail*. Brisbane. 28 March 1985. p.5.

and technology.[119] These were the concerns of the major movements, and their presence in this image indicated their relevance to urban issues and the city. The imagery also represented Brisbane transformed by the rustic ideal, and by implication the sustainable lifestyles project within an urban context (refer back to diagram 7).

However, the involvement in urban issues by the political green movement was based on more than expediency. Urban protests and demands for consultation by residents appeared to express the self-management ideals of the radical political movement, in terms of self-activity and support of popular struggles. The popular struggles of the residents were viewed as an opportunity to work towards the implementation of a self-managed society:

> Concerned residents groups of various kinds have sprung up in response to issues of freeway, parks, urban 'redevelopment', pollution, bridges etc. and groups have formed on housing, tenancy, bicycles, etc. These groups attempt a say in decision-making and imply, and sometimes call for, broader decision-making. By further implication, they are calling for the devolving of power from the state level, where urban decision-making lies, to the local level where it is within reach. The Green Party sees these tendencies as seedlings of a growth which we seek to encourage.[120]

The remainder of this section addresses the residents agenda, around which the Brisbane Green Party had organised their 1985 election campaign. The section concludes by addressing the implications of the residents agenda for the role of local governments in achieving the self-managed society, espoused by the Brisbane Green Party.

**the resident's agenda: defensive demands and consultation**

As stated above, in the early 1980s the urban protest by residents tended to be piecemeal and defensive. Specific issues were raised in response to developments, with rarely any comment upon the overall urban planning directions. This can be explained in terms of the political and institutional context of urban protest since the 1960s in Brisbane, with respect to the state and local levels of government. The 1960s was a time of rapid urban change as the Queensland economy expanded, bringing a flow of wealth and population into the state. The

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[119] Brisbane Green Party. *Green perspectives, Green Challenges. A Conference*. 1986.

[120] Brisbane Green Party. *Policy on Government Structure and Local Councils*. Author's collection. [c.1985]. u.p.

primary concern of the Queensland National Government was development, and to this end they endeavoured to stifle public comment and debate.[121] Prior to this period the Brisbane City Council was impoverished and lagging in provision of services. However, during the 1960s attempts were made to modify this, shaped by the impetus of development and the traditional role of local government.

The role of the Brisbane City Council was constrained by its traditional role in servicing land and land-based issues. There were few planning mechanisms, apart from the gazetting of periodic Town Plans.[122] These Town Plans were largely dedicated to land-use planning, and generally directed by the demands of the developers. Until the massive objections lodged over the 1975 Town Plan, developers had been allowed relative freedom. This had suited the development priorities of the Brisbane City Council.[123] Urban development from the early 1960s onwards had therefore been largely concerned with enhancing the provision of services and amenities. Some developments were government-directed projects, such as roads, sewerage, and other state and local government responsibilities. However there was also an upsurge of commercial and industrial development by the private sector. Government development of infrastructure largely serviced the demands of the private sector, putting in roads and services to service residential, commercial and industrial development. Thus urban development was largely determined by developers, assisted by the Queensland and local governments.

Urban dissent in Brisbane was mobilised largely around two sets of issues. The first was concern about the impact of development upon the natural and urban environment. The conservation movement generally took the initiatives on these issues. By the 1970s, there was already a history in Queensland over urban environmental issues. On the Gold Coast and in Noosa there had been concern expressed about destruction of the coastline caused by high rise tourism developments. Social issues were also raised, including transport congestion and

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[121] See Chapter Three: Political Economy and Queensland Government.

[122] See Chapter Three: Queensland Environmental Policy Framework.

[123] According to Mullins, the unpopular outcomes of development were presented by local government authorities as necessary 'sacrifices for progress', with progress referring to provision of services and amenities and economic development - see Mullins. "The struggle against Brisbane's freeways". 1980. p.320.

quality of life in a tourism destination.[124] In Brisbane, in the early 1970s, urban environmental conflict also flourished. The public expressed dissent over a number of issues including the siting of housing developments on environmentally sensitive areas, the development of Samford Valley, the new port at Fishermans Island at the mouth of the Brisbane River, and destruction of specific trees.[125]

The second set of issues around which dissent occurred in the 1970s included the placing of noxious industries such as quarries and gravel crushers into or near residential areas, the failure to provide adequate services and amenities in areas with a large amount of public housing, and the appropriating parklands and public land for commercial and other activities.[126] These issues arose in the context of the relatively unrestricted activity of developers.

Traffic issues were also controversial in this period. In Brisbane in the mid-1960s, the local government policy encouraged reliance on private cars as a means for overcoming the limitations of the poor public transport services. The tramways were closed down, as part of this policy.[127] Moreover Brisbane was geographically expanding, encouraged by the commercial and industrial ribbon development along main roads. A freeway system was proposed as the means for dealing with transport issues, which entailed maintaining the reliance upon private cars as the dominant means of transport. There was substantial social conflict over the freeway plan. Opposition to freeways and the broader transport plan remained an on-going issue through the 1970s until the campaign of opposition was lost.[128] Campaigns in Brisbane attempted to enhance their power by linking with urban campaigns

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[124] Fitzgerald devotes a chapter to these issues, focusing largely upon Noosa, the Gold Coast and Brisbane - see Ross Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s. A History of Queensland*. University of Queensland Press. St. Lucia. 1984.

[125] Mullins. "The struggle against Brisbane's freeways". 1980. pp.303,334.

[126] Mullins. "The struggle against Brisbane's freeways". 1980. p.333.

[127] Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*. 1984. pp.440-41.

[128] Mullins. "The struggle against Brisbane's freeways". 1980, and Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*. 1984. p.449.

in other states, such as the Green Bans in Sydney and anti-freeway groups in Melbourne.[129]

In the major urbanised regions of other states, urban movements had by the 1980s consolidated into organisations and achieved some level of consultation and participation in urban policy.[130] This had not eventuated in Brisbane at this time, for several reasons. Brisbane residents concerned about urban outcomes had few means at their disposal for influencing Brisbane local government policy. The main avenues of influence involved lodging objections to the Town Plan, lobbing the local government authorities, holding public rallies, and voting in the local and state government elections. However both levels of government remained committed to assisting developers. Another factor explaining the piecemeal character of the Brisbane urban movement was the relative ease of development in Brisbane in comparison with Sydney and Melbourne. In Melbourne and Sydney, development was necessarily accompanied by urban renewal. Conflict about urban renewal generated a qualitatively different kind of urban movement to the one which formed in Brisbane, with respect to the issues and the participants.[131] Both these factors contributed to a fragmented, sporadic, and specific issue-based urban protest movement in the 1970s. Some groups were aligned with the Queensland Conservation Council to enhance their capacity to influence policy.

The early 1980s saw a rise in urban discontent, associated with the urban policies and their outcomes, aimed at addressing the massive demographic change (see above). In the early 1980s, urban policy directions were also linked to the efforts of the state and local governments to facilitate improved economic outcomes, through the promotion of tourism and primary industry, and a new high-tech service sector. For instance, the north coast resort areas were developed for tourism, while for southeast Queensland a nuclear power plant was

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[129] Mullins. "The struggle against Brisbane's freeways". 1980. pp.331,337.

[130] Mullins refers to this development as the 'corporatisation' of the cities in relation to several factors including restructuring of local government to facilitate the co-ordination of growth - see Mullins. "The struggle against Brisbane's freeways". 1980.

[131] According to Mullins, urban renewal in Melbourne and Sydney involved affecting standing developments, while in Brisbane there was little standing development. Mullins. "The struggle against Brisbane's freeways". 1980. p.336.

mooted.[132] A distinct range of urban community groups emerged independently around local issues of concern to them. A plethora of residents groups flourished, many of them member groups of Queensland Conservation Council.[133]

Since the early 1980s, the demographic changes associated with high population growth necessitated an enhanced role for local government in a range of social issues. The *Corporate Planning for Brisbane City Community Discussion Paper* was produced and distributed in early 1984.[134] This discussion paper signalled a broadening of the local government agenda, to include a range of quality of life issues which included: welfare and housing issues, heritage preservation, the physical environment in terms of trees, traffic, and environmental protection issues, and the enhancement of economic efficiency through employment opportunities, resource conservation, and strategic plans. In addition, the Labor-dominated Brisbane City Council introduced some steps towards community consultation. These steps included household surveys of attitudes to services, invitations for submissions from members of the community for comment on policies and programs, and some public seminars on specific subjects. However, these consultation strategies were criticised by residents groups on the grounds that they constituted insufficient consultation mechanisms. In addition there were claims that residents needs were still ignored in order to further the developers' agendas.[135]

As the 1985 Brisbane City Council election drew closer, these issues crystallised into environmental and quality of life concerns, and demands for improved participation by residents in urban policy. This was the social context in which the newly formed Brisbane Green Party decided to contest the local government elections.

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[132] Fitzgerald. *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*. 1984. p.339.

[133] Liz Bourne. "Editorial". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.7. no.3. 1986. p.1.

[134] Brisbane City Council. *Community Consultation February 1984*. Brisbane. 1984. p.1.

[135] These claims tended to be articulated through the conservation organisations, which most residents groups were affiliated at this stage. The conservation groups advocated local government reform which would facilitate residents and community groups involvement in urban policy. These issues are discussed in Adrian Jeffreys. "Town planning for the conservationist". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. March. vol.3. no.2. 1982. pp.6-7, and Grahame Wells. "Focus on town planning". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.3. no.2. 1982. p.1.

**the transformation of local government**

The political green movement, organised at this early stage as the Brisbane Green Party, developed a response to the rising residents protest. The aim was to foster the self-activity of the residents, in the interests of *revitalising local communities*. However, there were tensions within the organisation about the role of the state and electoral activity in fostering community self-activity. At an early meeting of the Green Group, this tension was already in evidence. At that meeting there was:

> general agreement about formal political activity (Parliamentary) - but some reservations about ... long term *attitude* to existence of present parliamentary structures.[136]

Some participants did not want to confine the activities of the Brisbane Green Party to parliamentary activity. This tension was also signalled in a meeting of the Brisbane Green Party in late November 1985, in a discussion about future directions and a strategy for the forth-coming 1986 state elections. There was some reluctance to run an election campaign, for financial and logistical reasons. More significantly, there was "opposition to the state level of government in favour of bio-regions and decentralisation".[137]

These issues were significant in that they identified conflicts obscured by the rhetoric and policies of revitalising local communities. These conflicts reflected a tension between what Pakulski refers to as the participatory democratic and the interventionist orientations.[138] The participatory democratic orientation was expressed by two constituencies in the political green movement. The first constituency was the participants in the alternative community movement. They were more interested in building the movement infrastructure of the alternative community movement to support sustainable life-styles, than in electoral or other political activity. At this time, Maleny was becoming increasingly established as a centre for the alternative community movement in southeast Queensland, and the movement itself was

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[136] Green Group. *Minutes 17/8/84.*

[137] Brisbane Green Party. *Minutes 16/11/85.* Author's collection. 1985.

[138] See Chapter Two: Plurality of Dimensions.

strengthening.[139] Many were already involved in establishing worker co-operatives in Brisbane, and saw revitalisation of local communities in terms of the rustic ideal in an urban context.[140] The Brisbane Green Party was provisionally supported on this basis.

The other constituency expressing the participatory democratic orientation was comprised of some elements of the libertarian political tendency.[141] Their concern was to foster self-activity at the community level, involving political empowerment through dual-powering the state. The state was considered to have no productive role in building a community which expressed 'just, humane, and ecological' objectives. Revitalisation of local communities thus referred to the self-activity of residents in geographically delineated regions to formulate new social and political institutions separate from existing ones. From this perspective, the role of the Brisbane Green Party was solely to encourage residents to engage in self-activity in their local communities.

What both these participatory democratic orientations had in common was self-activity at the grassroots: building community outside the framework of established institutions. These perspectives contrasted with the interventionist orientation, in which revitalising local communities reflected more closely radical reform, or transformation, of local government. This perspective was largely inspired by both the Green Bans campaigns in Sydney in the 1970s, and the apparent successes of the Greater London Council experiment in the early 1980s, before it was dismantled by Thatcher. The Green Bans involved joint union and community alliances to oppose unwelcome developments, on the basis of heritage and environmental issues, and the protection of local communities. These developments were

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[139] See Chapter Four: Constructing the Life-World.

[140] Several names on the Brisbane alternative community movement material also appear in Brisbane Green Party material in the author's collection. They were involved in the establishment and operation of various co-operatives, particularly in the suburban area of Paddington-Red Hill - for further information about these co-operatives, see Chapter Four: Economic Viability.

[141] Position papers were presented by some members to the Brisbane Green Party, concerning differences about the proposed aim and purpose of the party. Two of those members, John Tracey and Brian Laver, both long-time activists in the libertarian movement, dropped out of the green political movement when the Green party collapsed in 1986. Author's collection.

otherwise supported by a powerful government and developers.[142] Jack Mundey, a union leader in the Green Bans campaign, publicly supported the formation of the Brisbane Green Party, addressing it at its inauguration in 1984.[143] The Greater London Council reforms in the early 1980s were an example of local government initiatives designed to create employment opportunities. These reforms appeared to offer an example of how local government could introduce new institutions catering to both the community-based employment and economic issues and a pragmatic means for achieving them. [144]

The notion of revitalising local communities through the transformation of local government relied upon a strategy of self-activity by residents in which a transformed local government played a facilitating role. It accorded with Pakulski's interventionist orientation in that a productive role for a moral state was considered possible and desirable. The major proponent of this interventionist perspective in Brisbane was the Brisbane Green Party spokesperson and mayoral candidate, Drew Hutton. Hence, the interventionist perspective, dominated the policy package of the Brisbane Green Party 1985 Brisbane City Council election campaign.

## REVITALISATION OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES

This section addresses the interventionist perspective. It draws principally upon the policy material of the Brisbane Green Party, produced for the 1985 Brisbane City Council election, as well as the Political Program paper which outlined the aims and strategies of the political

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[142] See Richard Roddewis. *Green Bans. The Birth of the Australian Environmental Movement. A Study of Public Opinion and Participation*. Hale and Iremonger. Sydney. 1978 and Peter Manning and Marion Harding. *Green Bans*. Australian Conservation Foundation. Melbourne. 1975.

[143] "Jack Mundey speaks on ecology and socialism." *The West End World*. Brisbane. Author's collection. vol.1, no.4. 1985. Also "Mundey arrives to help turn the Council Green." *Courier Mail*. Brisbane. 2 March 1985.

[144] The Greater London Council reforms were a (British) Labour Party initiative which saw a role for local government in the creation of viable employment opportunities. These initiatives relied upon the implementation of appropriate industry policy, and planning which involved consultation amongst Greater London Council Enterprise Board representatives, workers, and employers. The Plan proposed that relevant issues would include the nature of the work such as conditions, technological choice, social security issues, gender and class issues, training, and promotion of economic democracy through such means as worker's equity stakes, public ownership, practices, directorship strategies, and facilitation of active trade union involvement and appropriate skilling to do this. See the section on 'Popular Planning and Economic Democracy' in the Introduction of Greater London City Council *The London Labour Plan*. London. 1986.

green movement. This section draws attention to the elements of revitalisation of local communities which appeared to have some accord with the residents agenda.

## a 'just, humane, and ecological' city

This examination of the interventionist approach to revitalisation of local communities singles out some examples of the 'humane, just, and ecological' dimensions of the policy package, and discusses them successively. In each case, self-activity and self-management aspects are highlighted, to illustrate the role for a transformed local government in their achievement. This policy package represented the ideal, in contrast to the current strategy and direction of local (and state) government. It also represented the appropriation of issues espoused by the residents movement in relation to the government agenda.

### *a humane city*

The notion of a humane city had three elements, all linked to building meaningful social relations in all aspects of daily life. The first element aimed to address the alienation that was experienced as loneliness and feelings of disconnectedness from a larger community. Alienation in this context also referred to the bureaucratic welfare system which provided impersonal and regulated forms of aid to individuals. Alienation of these kinds was seen as a recent phenomenon:

> Over the last two centuries modern industrial society has gradually destroyed the local community ... This process has been assisted by the development of lifestyles which prevent the development of strong local bonds. People usually work long distances from where they live. Likewise, they often go shopping, get educated and enjoy recreation in centres far away from their local neighbourhoods ... One result of all this is that work which goes on in the home is largely undervalued and the mutual aid mechanisms which would be present in a caring local community do not exist.[145]

The notion of community as *place* was central to this perspective. The destruction of place was linked to the centralisation pattern of development in Brisbane, similar to most other major cities:

> The growth of Brisbane, like that of many other modern cities, has been planned and allowed to develop according to the principles of increasing centralisation. The concentration of places of employment, shopping, recreation and education, health

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[145] Brisbane Green Party. *Revitalising Local Communities*. [c.1985]. u.p.

> and welfare services into relatively few but larger centres has meant that individuals must commute a great deal more to satisfy their needs.[146]

In terms of achieving community as place, there were several policy prescriptions. One called for the decentralisation of commercial and state facilities and services throughout the city. The purpose of the proposed decentralisation was to allow people to participate in daily life within their local community, and to establish personal rather than official relationships with others:

> People still do display sociability, co-operation, mutual aid, and resilience within their local communities and the basis is there for building revitalised community life - caring, self-managed local communities in which such things as family life, work, recreation and shopping can form, to a much greater extent, an organic whole.[147]

Establishing community as *place* also had repercussions for transport and accessibility. For instance, establishing small neighbourhoods would enable use of transport other than cars. Cars as the dominant mode of transport were blamed for a range of problems which were considered to undermine the quality of life in the community, particularly through commuting which was seen as destroying the sense of community as place. Referring to the increased centralisation of the city, "promotion and greater use of the private car has been integral to this type of development".[148] On the other hand, "cycling offers the opportunity to become more acquainted with the local community and environment".[149] Thus transport was linked to decentralisation issues. Self-activity in creating community as place involved both government policy and the active involvement by community dwellers in building more fulfilling social relationships within the community.

Another aspect of the humane dimension was linked to notions of ***human-scale*** and ***place***. Humane in this sense meant comprehendible and controllable by individuals. This was represented in several ways through revitalising local communities. The first was in the support given to the formation of cooperatives. Worker co-operatives were promoted as a

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[146] Brisbane Green Party. *Brisbane Bikeplan Policy*. Author's collection. [c.1985]. u.p.

[147] Brisbane Green Party. *Revitalising Local Communities Policy*. [c.1985]. u.p.

[148] Brisbane Green Party. *Brisbane Bikeplan Policy*. [c.1985]. u.p.

[149] Brisbane Green Party. *Brisbane Bikeplan Policy*. [c.1985]. u.p.

means to combat unemployment, promote justice issues, and to allow reduced dependence on energy and natural resources. They were also seen as a means of eliminating the "alienation of work in large industries and offices" and "the uselessness of many products of modern industry":

> We support the development of small-scale, decentralised and labour intensive technologies based on self-managed, co-operative and ecological work and community lives not only as a solution for unemployment but as an alternative economic base for our society. For us, co-operatives represent a grassroots response to the alienation of work in large industries and offices and to the relative lack of care in social institutions like child care centres and kindergartens.[150]

In the early 1980s, worker-cooperatives were established in Brisbane by the alternative community movement.[151] The Brisbane Green Party also promoted a small-scale recycling service rather than a "big-scale contract trolley system", so that "local services [would be] part of local life", and could provide a work-place in which "work becomes more interesting, more productive and more of a personal service" rather than being "boring, dirty and repetitive" as in a conventional work-place.[152] Also linked with human scale was the establishment of community centres, for encouraging community members to make friends in "a place of belonging", and empowerment for supportive relationships for "learning, gaining skills, and knowledge and confidence", "these activities are a vital part of empowering people so that they can act on their own behalf",[153] and community building to:

> help people learn how to use community resources ... to increase community co-operation, understanding and acceptance [and to] lead people in the community to identify needs and to act upon them.[154]

Another aspect of human-scale concerned the individual's alienation from participation in the decision-making that affects their lives. From this perspective, all three levels of government were seen as too remote and inaccessible:

> The existing powerlessness of people in their local communities makes it difficult for them to achieve this [power to revitalise community life] on their own. Therefore,

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[150] Brisbane Green Party. *Policy on Work Co-operatives*. Author's collection. [c.1985] u.p.

[151] See Chapter Four: Economic Viability.

[152] Brisbane Green Party. *Waste Disposal and Recycling Policy*. Author's collection. [c.1985]. u.p.

[153] Brisbane Green Party. *Revitalising Local Communities Policy*. [c.1985]. u.p.

[154] Brisbane Green Party. *Revitalising Local communities Policy*. [c.1985]. u.p.

> direct government - including that of local government - is necessary to assist this process.[155]

The Brisbane Green Party promoted a grassroots government system, which would be more accessible to all members of the community:

> Ultimately we see local areas which will form a community, an area and a base from which higher levels of government are subject to control. These areas will have to be small enough to allow local self-government by direct democracy. higher government will be simplified by the devolving of functions and by formation of a second tier which is comprehensive and logical because it reflects the existing ecological, economic, and social unity.[156]

Thus devolving power through the community was a means for community members to take control of their own lives, and to participate in collective decisions making over issues that affected their lives.

*a just city*

The notion of a just city had two elements, one concerned with social issues of equity and diversity in the community, and the other with democratic issues. Both addressed the structures of decision-making and their social outcomes. Socially unjust outcomes were linked with the failure of liberal institutions to produce the sought social outcomes. One example was the housing policy, which stated that:

> Young people, especially those unemployed and on low incomes, are worse off in the area of housing than most people ... The provision of low-cost self-managed rental accommodation to homeless and inadequately housed people would be seen as a priority by the Green party.[157]

Employment was also considered an important issue, in terms of its availability and character. Co-operatives were promoted as an appropriate means to address unemployment:

> We support the development of small-scale, decentralised and labour intensive technologies based on self-managed, co-operative and ecological work and community lives not only as a solution for unemployment but as an alternative economic base for our society. For us, co-operatives represent a grassroots response to the alienation of work in large industries and offices and to the relative lack of care in social

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[155] Brisbane Green Party. *Policy of Revitalising Local Communities*. [c.1985]. u.p.

[156] Brisbane Green Party. *Government Structure and Local Councils Policy* [c.1985]. u.p.

[157] Brisbane Green Party. *Revitalisation of Local Communities Policy*. [c.1985], in the section on 'Housing'.

> institutions like child care centres and kindergartens.[158]

Equity was also a justice issue, for instance, the availability to child care centres, as stated above. Transport was also promoted as an equity issues. Bicycles were promoted as "an accessible form of transport for children and those with low income".[159]

A just city was also a democratic one, not only in terms of empowerment (see above) but also in terms of who made political decisions and how they were made. With respect to local government, lack of public consultation was posed as a problem:

> The degree of participation in town plans has been mostly participation as market research and/or public relations. Objections have been acted on. Sometimes they have not. More generally though, planning remains a closed, technical exercise when in fact most of the decisions are social and political.[160]

There was also criticism of the secrecy which had characterised both levels of government in Queensland.[161] Moreover, urban problems were linked to the lack of control by people over public policy while developers and market forces had been privileged:

> There is already a solid case for devolution of power in Australian government, for localising many functions which are at present centralised. ... Local government ... has until recently ... represented only a narrow business, developer and speculator point of view,[162]

This concern was associated with the "privileged relationship between business and development interests long associated with the local government":[163]

> This destruction has been caused by the increased power of government bureaucracies and big business over decisions which affect people's lives ... This degeneration of local community life has been a result of the fact that centralised government bureaucracies and large corporations are largely outside the control of ordinary

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[158] Brisbane Green Party. *Policy on Work Co-operatives*. [c.1985]. u.p.

[159] Brisbane Green Party. *Brisbane Bikeplan Policy*. [c.1985]. u.p.

[160] Brisbane Green Party. *Democratic Planning and Management Policy*. Author's collection. [c.1985]. u.p.

[161] For example, this issue is raised in Brisbane Green Party. *Democratic Urban Planning and Management Policy*. [c.1985]. u.p.

[162] Brisbane Green Party. *Government Structure and Local Councils Policy*. [c.1985]. u.p.

[163] Brisbane Green Party. *Democratic Urban Planning and Management Policy*. [c.1985]. u.p.

people.[164]

Thus challenging the power of the business-state nexus was seen as important, and was to be achieved through participatory democracy.

More broadly, the party system and political system in general were seen as intrinsically problematic:

> Our leaders around the world are extremists. They are engaged in changing the technological, economic, institutional and cultural bases of our lives at a staggering rate. They have developed weapons which, if used, could wipe out life on our planet, and they are devastating the natural environment in the pursuit of short-term gain.[165]

This was a criticism of the party system for failing to represent peoples' interests:

> The unwillingness of mainstream parties to come to terms with the major social justice and environmental issues facing today's society is the main guarantee of our continuing existence.[166]

The short term expediency of political parties and the business-developer nexus were seen as problems to be overcome by a form of decision-making which involved the community. The Brisbane Green Party advocated planning and coordination which cut across party and development interests. Furthermore, overcoming the problems of global scale also involved recourse to a more democratic participatory political system:

> We hope to restructure democracy so that we can act locally through an organised structure to resolve problems which are global in their implications. Clearly the existing political structure has not been responsive to manifest and interconnected problems of growth, unemployment ... technology, energy use and economic irrationality. Participatory democracy provides a means by which people can act. Democratisation is a step forward towards solving these problems.[167]

All these concerns were linked to making local government more accessible to the community. Thus a cornerstone of achieving revitalisation of local communities was direct government, referred to as participatory democracy. This was supported in policy by advocating the decentralisation of the Brisbane City Council into smaller neighbourhood

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[164] Green Party. *Revitalising Local Communities*. [c.1985]. u.p.

[165] Brisbane Green Party. *Political Program*. [c.1984-85]. u.p.

[166] "Battle for Brisbane." 24 March 1985. p.17.

[167] Brisbane Green Party. *Policy on Government Structure and Local Councils*. [c.1985] u.p.

councils, to make local government more human-scale and accessible. Making local government more accessible also involved facilitating community involvement, through forums established for that purpose and provision of funding to help the community get information and forward their views.[168] This proposals aimed to achieve a more participatory form of government, in accord with the political green movements' support for popular struggles.

The second consideration was planning. One of the problems identified by the political green movement was that urban policy was often ad hoc and developer-driven, with little view to long-term social and ecological repercussions:

> Local government has done little to modify the determinations of the speculative land market. In fact, town planning has mostly been responsive and an accessory to the market. Government control to hold prices, support fore rent payers etc., [sic] investment in housing have been largely rejected, mostly with popular support.[169]

The aim was to establish forums which allowed planning and coordination of issues such as urban infrastructure, economic development, and the proposed community institutions. Intrinsic to these planning forums was community involvement, as discussed above.

*an ecological city*

Environmental issues were a linchpin of the Greens platform:

> The Green Party's approach to environmental issues has its basis in an ecological view of the world which we call social ecology. This is the conviction that human being's obsession with dominating nature is intimately linked with the practice of domination by human by human. While our society is organised around a system of elites, the project of dominating nature will continue to exist and inevitably lead our planet to ecological devastation. Our goal is an environmentally sustainable society. Such a goal would be impossible without also achieving a society which practices social and economic equality and the maximum degree of participatory democracy.[170]

However the Environmental Policy also indicated the recognition of the need for

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[168] Brisbane Green Party. *Government Structure and Local Councils*. [c.1985] u.p.

[169] Brisbane Green Party. *Democratic Planning and Management Policy*. [c.1985] u.p. That is, there was popular support for government control over these matters.

[170] Brisbane Green Party. *Summary of Environmental Policy*. Author's collection. [c.1985] u.p.

environmental planning and management. The formation of an Environmental and Planning Department was advocated, to coordinate with the development activities of council and to liaise with environmental groups. They also promoted management plans "for balanced social, economic, and environmental maintenance" of sand islands, coastal zones, creekways and Brisbane River, natural bushland and swamps, and parks and recreation areas. Ecologically sound garbage systems which included recycling was also advocated, as well as improved management of hazardous pollution and chemicals, control of urban sprawl, and water conservation.[171]

However there was also another ecological element linked to the endeavour to achieve the revitalisation of local communities, this time in terms of the humanist perspective and the protection of nature. The humanist perspective was most apparent in the policy on parks. It states:

> Parks have a variety of values in the city. The afford views of the city and they break up the concrete and bitumen images of city living. As well they are retreats from the city. It is important that parks are not just seen to be nature's leftovers in the city but that they blend in with the city's life, especially that of the community nearby. Parks are part of nature but their significance also lies in the fact that they are part of our culture.[172]

In terms of environmental protection, these considerations were largely integrated into the other aspects of the revitalisation of local communities. For instance, the use of bicycles was encouraged for addressing social and environmental issues, including pollution and energy issues, accessibility of cheap transport to low-income earners, promotion of exercise for health, and:

> The promotion of, and provision for, cycling is in keeping with the Green Party's aim of working towards a socially just and ecologically responsible society.[173]

The transport policy reiterated the link between urban centralisation and dependence of cars, and promoted public transport and:

> the restructuring of cities to achieve maximum access to places of work, schools, shops, services, entertainments and friends with minimum mobility [and] public

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[171] Brisbane Green Party. *Environment Policy*. Author's collection. [c.1985] u.p.

[172] Brisbane Green Party. *Brisbane's Parks Policy*. Author's collection. [c.1985]. u.p.

[173] Brisbane Green Party. *Brisbane Bikeplan Policy*. [c.1985]. u.p.

education to increase awareness and participation in ecologically-based programs.[174]

Worker co-operatives were seen as a means for achieving environmental outcomes:

> High unemployment levels have characterised Australian economic life for the past decade. The cure for this proffered by all the mainstream parties is more of the same. This means excessive dependence on energy and natural resources and excessive dependence on investment in capital rather than labour. This adds to the problems of inflation, resource depletion and pollution and does not even solve the problem of unemployment. ... To remedy this situation we need to thoroughly re-orient our patterns of production and consumption. We support the development of small-scale, decentralised and labour intensive technologies based on self-managed, co-operative and ecological work and community lives not only as a solution for unemployment but as an alternative economic base for our society.[175]

In all instances, the underlying theme of these policies was self-activity, either directly in establishing meaningful social relationships or in participating in the political process which shaped both social and ecological outcomes. Local government, as a locus of decision-making and coordination, was central to achieving the revitalisation of local communities. Residents concerns around a range of quality of life issues and demands for consultation were articulated by the political green movement as demands for revitalisation of local communities.

### the demise of the Brisbane Green Party

During the campaigning around the 1985 Brisbane City Council elections, the Brisbane Green Party gained a reasonable amount of media attention, mostly focused on the mayoral candidate Drew Hutton who was also the spokesperson for the Brisbane Green Party.[176] The mayoral candidate gained a vote of 3.8% across the entire Brisbane electorate. In the three wards where Brisbane Green Party candidates stood, the candidates achieved votes of 8.5% Spring Hill, 9.2% in The Gabba, and 9.4% in Inala.[177] While this vote indicated a

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[174] Brisbane Green Party. *Transport Policy*. Author's collection. [c.1985] u.p.

[175] Brisbane Green Party. *Work Co-operative Policy*. [c.1985] u.p.

[176] *Sunday Mail*, *Courier Mail*, and local newspaper *Westside News* often contained stories and photographs of the Green Brisbane Party candidates, and some articles by Drew Hutton the mayoral candidate.

[177] Open letter to 'members and supporters of the Brisbane Green Party', signed by Drew Hutton. Author's collection. [c.April 1985]. Also, see "Brisbane City Council Voting: Final Weekend Figures." *Sunday Mail*. Brisbane. 31 March 1985.

reasonable base of support in the wider community, it was insufficient for winning public. In addition, the residents movement and green political movement remained quite separate. Nonetheless this election campaign gave the political green movement a focus, at least temporarily, and an opportunity to promote their concerns through urban and other issues.

However by late-1986 the Brisbane Green Party had petered out. To some extent this was fuelled by personal tensions within the organisation.[178] However, a more substantial explanation lies with the philosophical tensions about direction, the purpose of the Brisbane Green Party, and ideas about how social change towards the just humane and ecological society was best effected.[179] Apart from these quite divisive tensions, the Brisbane Green Party also had a problem with direction between (local) elections, made more acute in the aftermath of the national Getting Together Conference in April 1986.[180] Soon after the Getting Together Conference, the Green Party in Brisbane collapsed.

While the political green movement lost its organisational coherence as the Brisbane Green Party, elements of the membership continued with involvement in other projects. Participants in the alternative community movement who had also been involved with the Brisbane Green Party continued to form co-operatives and engage in other activities related to this movement.[181] Those supporting the dual-powering of local government established West End as their base of operation. Their Movement for Community Enrichment campaign:

> encourage[s] every-one who wants a better world to begin in West End, and welcome them to become involved with any of these or other on-going projects which provide

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[178] Discussion papers about personality conflicts and organisational processes were presented to Green Party meetings in relation to these tensions, by John Tracey, John Murray, Brian Laver through 1986. Papers in author's collection.

[179] This issue is discussed above, in terms of the meaning of revitalisation of local communities.

[180] Some participants from the Brisbane Green Party attended this conference to argue for the formation of a national green party - the Green Party Electoral Strategy Group was convened by Drew Hutton from the Brisbane Green Party - Getting Together. *Getting Together. Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. Author's collection. [c.1987].

[181] Some ex-members maintained their involvement in various work co-operatives, particularly in the Paddington-Red Hill area. For instance, Michael Petter and Ronnie Martin became members of Australian Association of Sustainable Communities, and co-established with some other people the Edible Landscapes co-operative. In the late 1980s these two were involved with others in establishing the Web 'shared work space' - for further information about co-operatives and the alternative community movement, see Chapter Seven: Transformation of Local Government (footnote).

the base from which to grow.[182]

Over the latter half of the 1980s a bookshop, learning exchange and restaurant were established.[183] The restaurant, the Sitting Duck, was also set up as an educational and cultural centre. A local newspaper was printed, named *Neighbourhood News,* and distributed locally [184] Moreover some participants of this tendency participated in urban campaigns which opposed the siting of Expo 88 in the area, and supported residents adversely affected by the decision.[185]

Meanwhile a civil liberties campaign emerged which galvanised many people, including many of those involved in the political green movement. A public meeting convened by Queensland Academics for Human rights, co-convened by Drew Hutton and Bob Leach on 20 November 1985, opposed the electoral injustice of the gerrymander. The Brisbane Green Party had supported this initiative.[186] The Citizens Against Gerrymander meeting formed an organisation to demand a voting system of one-vote one value. The Queensland Coalition for Democratic Rights became a large organisation, and established an office in Brisbane in January 1986. This campaign, with wide public support from the community, dominated the agenda of the radical political movement for the next year or so. However this was not the end of the political green movement. It resurfaced in late 1986, this time as part of a national initiative.[187]

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[182] This articles encourages people to focus on the locality of West End - "Movement for Community Enrichment." *Neighbourhood News*. Author's collection. no.8. p.1.

[183] Emma's Bookshop was a continuation of the Red and Black Bookshop: named after the anarchist revolutionary, Emma Goldman. The learning exchange was named the Institute of Social Ecology, with reference to Murray Bookchin - see earlier references to Bookchin.

[184] This newspaper was distributed from Emma's Bookshop by Neighbourhood News Publishing Society. The full name is *Neighbourhood News. West End Area Community Paper*, reflecting the emphasis on West End as a locality.

[185] These issues are raised extensively in *Neighbourhood News*. Author's collection. The initial editions contain reports about their campaigning to oppose the siting of Expo 88 in South Brisbane, and the establishment of The People's Park as a space in the shopping centre for convening public meetings.

[186] Green Party. *Minutes 16/11/85*.

[187] Addressed in Chapters Six and Seven.

## CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This chapter has shown that the endeavour to construct a 'just, humane, and ecological society' through building a mass movement was formulated in a specific social context. Three elements of this context were prioritised. The first was the genesis of the political green movement in the radical political movement. This genesis largely accounts for the preoccupation with self-activity and mass movement building, which characterised the green political movement. The second factor was the strategy crisis in the early 1980s, and subsequent endeavour to crystallise a new mass movement around the increasingly popular green symbol. The choice of the green symbol was shown to be expedient to some extent, but also indicative of the genuine growing interest in ecological matters. Thus, added to the social issues considered intrinsic to contemporary society were ecological ones, articulated as the promotion of a 'just, humane and ecological society'.

This chapter has also shown that the appropriation of urban issues contributed to the specific expression of the environmental project of the green political movement at that time. Central to the environmental project was the radical transformation of local government, in the interests of achieving the 'just, humane, and ecological' society. Local government was attributed a role in fostering opportunities for self-activity by residents to control the social and ecological affairs of their own lives. However, the institutional reform for the achievement of the 'just, humane, and ecological society', sought by the political green movement, was substantially hampered their lack of engagement with the popular struggles they endeavoured to appropriate.[188]

The residents movement was on the whole far more interested in government reforms which would seemingly facilitate community involvement in urban policy, than in the Brisbane Green Party. While the bid to transform local government at this early stage of the green political movement amounted to raising issues about the future of Brisbane, a legacy of policy prescriptions, discussion papers, and collective experience remained, to be revitalised as the green political movement regained momentum in the following year.

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[188] See Chapter Two: Movement Efficacy for discussion of engagement.

# Chapter Six

# A CHANGED CONTEXT AND GOVERNMENT REFORMS

The preceding chapters in Part B, Three, Four, and Five, identified the development of three distinct environmental project projects arising from the green movement in southeast Queensland over the 1970s and early 1980s. Each project was characterised by the endeavour to resolve the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes through some form of institutional change. For the conservation movement, their environmental project involved the reconciliation of development and conservation outcomes through the implementation of institutional reform by governments. The alternative community movement endeavoured to achieve social and ecological outcomes through the praxis of lifestyle changes, expressed through alternative social practices, which would address a range of social and environmental problems attributed to the nature of industrial society. The political green movement environmental project involved the transformation of social and political institutions to achieve the 'just, humane, and ecological' society. In each instance, there was a lack of engagement between these projects and the prevailing social, political, and institutional order.[1]

Chapters Six and Seven, in Part C, address the means used from the mid-1980s onwards by the green movement in southeast Queensland to enhance their effectiveness in a rapidly changing social and political context. Effectiveness refers to engagement with the prevailing social order, in terms of the capacity to influence the presence and character of public debates about the relationship between social and environmental outcomes, and to gain widespread public support.[2] The changed context refers primarily to the introduction of government reforms at local and state levels of government as well as the policies of the federal, state, and local governments. It also includes the activity by parts of the green movement in relation to these factors, and subsequent endeavours to work cooperatively as

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[1] See Chapter Two: Efficacy of Movements.

[2] See Chapter Two: Efficacy of Movements.

a cohesive movement. The theoretical basis for these chapters is derived from Pakulski's notion of consolidation.

Consolidation refers to a range of factors including the coalescence of local networks and events, the growing density of contacts and communication, organisational coalitions and fusions, overlapping participation and coordination of activities, the formation of a core (specific organisations and ethos groups), and the emergence of a unified leadership.[3] This notion provides a means for focusing upon strategies engaged in by the various parts of the green movement to establish their environmental projects, and subsequent movement re-organisation in a rapidly changing context. Within the framework of movement consolidation, Chapters Six and Seven are distinguished by their focus on the Queensland and the national contexts, respectively.

This chapter examines the repercussions for green movement consolidation in southeast Queensland in relation to the government-initiated reform processes, beginning from the mid-1980s in Brisbane and state-wide from 1989. The reform processes are singled out because of the changed social and political context they signal, and the subsequent implications for the dialogue between movement and context for the activities and priorities of the various parts of the green movement. The reform processes are also singled out as they constitute institutional change with repercussions for social, economic, and environmental outcomes. Institutional change by governments was of particular interest to the political green and conservation movements, although for different reasons, thus this chapter focuses only upon these two parts of the green movement.

The chapter proceeds first by establishing a theoretical background to the reform agendas. The reform process is linked to the restructuring of the liberal state to deal with the twin problems of accumulation and legitimation. The chapter then focuses upon the political green movement and conservation movement respectively. These two movements had different approaches to the reform process prior to their introduction. Moreover they were qualitatively different kinds of movements. The political green movement endeavoured to

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[3] See Chapter Two: Movement Consolidation.

support popular struggles in the interests of mass movement building, to foster self-activity and the transformation of the state.[4] The conservation movement was dedicated to conventional political activity for achieving their environmental project.[5] Thus these movements have been addressed in quite different ways in separate sections.

The section on the political green movement addresses the renewed endeavour to appropriate the residents concerns, following on from Chapter Five. The section focuses upon three actors in this context - the local government, the residents movement, and the political green movement. It outlines the character of the reform process between 1985 and 1991, and the repercussions for the residents movement character in response. These factors establish the altered context in which the political green movement reasserted the sustainable communities project. This section also addresses the limits of the achievement of sustainable communities for the political green movement. It accounts for these limits with reference to the relationship between the residents movement and the reform process in which it had a stake.

In a slightly later time frame, the second section addresses the response of the conservation movement to the reform processes introduced by the new Queensland Government in 1989. Initially the reforms seemed to herald a promise for the implementation of the environmental project of the conservation movement. This section, however, draws attention to the growing disenchantment of the conservation movement with the reform process, and the grounds for this disenchantment. This is explained in terms of conflicting agendas of the reform process and the concerns of the conservation movement. The section indicates the quandary in which the conservation movement was placed by this development, facing exclusion from the policy process of which they had endeavoured to be accepted as a legitimate participant.

This chapter shows that the changed social and political context did little towards advancing the social and environmental objectives of the political green and conservation movement. What it did provide, however, was a basis for cooperation between the political green and conservation movements by 1990, in spite of the quite different and conflicting environmental

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[4] See Chapter Five: Uniting Movements Behind the Green Symbol and Green Urban Issues and Popular Struggles.

[5] See Chapter Three: The Adversarial Scenario.

projects and modes of action.

## THE TECHNOBUREAUCRATIC REFORM PROCESS

The political and institutional context in which the green movement endeavoured to implement their environmental projects in the latter part of the 1980s and early 1990s changed to a large degree in relation to the government reform process at local and state government levels. The new Atkinson Liberal administration initiated a reform process for the Brisbane City Council administration in 1985, and the new Goss Labor administration for the Queensland Government in 1989. To some extent the reform agendas of these two governments were a response to the social conflict which had plagued Queensland for more than two decades. However this section proposes that the reform process is best explained in terms of the public sector management reforms being introduced at all levels of government in Australia, as initiatives to deal with the world-wide crisis of the liberal-democratic state. This section examines the character of this crisis of the liberal-democratic state, to provide a common theoretical basis for the reform processes discussed in this chapter.

### the legitimation and accumulation crisis

Debate about the crisis of the liberal-democratic state have flourished since the end of the post war boom, in response to on-going tensions in relation to its traditional role of maintaining conditions for economic growth, the electoral vulnerability of the government to democratic demands predicated on an expanding public agenda and subsequent social control issues, and the necessity for better management of an increasingly complex political apparatus.[6] According to Keane, there was a conflict between the state's legitimation and

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[6] These problems were signalled in publications by O'Connor and Habermas from the left, and from the right, Friedman and Friedman, Brittan, and Birch - see: James O'Connor. *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*. St. Martin's Press. New York. 1973, Claus Offe. *Contradictions of the Welfare State*. The M.I.T. Press. Cambridge. 1984 and Jurgen Habermas. *Legitimation Crisis*. Heinemann. London. 1976, Milton Friedman and Rose Friedman. *Free to Choose*. Secker and Warburg. London. 1980, Samuel Brittan. "The economic contradictions of democracy". *British Journal of Political Science*. vol.5. no.2. 1975. pp.129-59, and Anthony H. Birch. "Overload, ungovernability and delegitimation: the theories and the British case." *British Journal of Political Science*. vol.14. no.1. 1984. pp.135-60. Also environmental factors undermining continued growth were raised. See, for instance, D.H. Meadows, D.L. Meadows, J. Randers, and W.W. Behrens. *Limits to Growth. A Report for the Club of Rome. A Report for the Club*

accumulation functions. The crises in accumulation referred to the interconnected problems of economic stagnation, international economic destabilisation and coordination failures, and the undermining of state control of the economy through the rationalisation and subsequent internationalisation of the production process by transnationals. Linked to these economic issues were political ones associated with a poor capacity to coordinate economic development and the accumulation process, "muddled patterns of state-decision-making" as well as problems associated with increasing bureaucratic domination over more aspects of social life. These issues contributed to the vulnerability of the state to democratic demands in increasingly wider areas - that is, a crisis of legitimacy. [7]

One response was what Keane refers to as 'new liberalism'. New liberalism characterised these problems in terms of the failure of welfare state: its inability to maintain conditions for the growth required by the private sector, and the overload of democratic demands upon the state as the state has become:

> the site of new needs and social grievances ... that have been unwittingly generated by its formal recognition of the powers of trade unions and by its affirmation of the principles of state supervision and collective rights.[8]

The strategy for dealing with this problem was to reassert the civil society/state dualism by "selective 'decommodification' of collective services": to reduce the range of issues for which the state can be found democratically accountable, and a debureaucratisation of many issues. The Fraser Federal Liberal Government pursued this strategy in the late 1970s and early 1980s. However the Federal Labor Party which came to power in Australia in 1983 reflected another response to the crisis of the liberal-democratic state, what Keane has referred to as the 'neocorporatist strategy'.

The neocorporatist approach shares with the new liberalism the notion that the state is overburdened with democratic demands and coordination problems. However it proposed a

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*of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind*. Universe Books. London. 1972.

[7] John Keane. "Bureaucracy and its discontents. Crisis tendencies of the welfare state." John Keane. ed. *Public Life and Late Capitalism. Toward a Socialist Theory of Democracy*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. 1984. pp.18-19.

[8] Keane. "Bureaucracy and its discontents." 1984. p.22.

different explanation for these problems. According to the neocorporatist approach the problem was not so much the failures of the welfare state but rather the failures of its administration:

> not *whether* late capitalist social life must be governed by a bureaucratic state, but *how* the restabilisation of this state and its policies is possible.[9]

That is, the welfare state was considered to be in need of "internal renovation or re-organisation". Unlike the civil society/state dualism of the new liberalism, neocorporatists posed accumulation and legitimation as irretrievably intertwined. The aim was to minimise the impact of demands by institutionalising, rather than minimising, the channels for their expression - to "reduce the range and quantity of social demands for which hitherto they have been deemed responsible".[10] Some functions of government must be unloaded by, for instance, transferring some current state responsibilities to non-government authorities, and democratic pretensions and expectations reduced. This was to be achieved through better management of the state apparata:

> States ... must redirect, control, and guide their own complex of institutions, in order successfully to convert resources into programs that from here on will produce outputs more in accord with planned policy commitments,[11]

which Keane has referred to as a technobureaucratic strategy. Thus some groups were to be screened out of the political processes while others were to be incorporated.

Fundamental to the technobureaucratic approach to liberal-democratic state restructuring was addressing the apparent failures of the formally-rational administrative model of bureaucracy including efficiency and other economic-related issues, and the compartmentalisation which affected how problems and thus solutions were posed. Thus the technocratic administrative type constituted reforms to the bureaucratic model, to improve the formally rational basis of decision-making and administration or management.[12] Thus liberal-democratic state restructuring reforms were to rationalise the workings of government to improve its

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[9] Keane. "Bureaucracy and its discontents." 1984. p.23.

[10] Keane. "Bureaucracy and its discontents." 1984. p.23-24.

[11] Keane. "Bureaucracy and its discontents." 1984. p.23-24.

[12] This characterisation corresponds with Pakulski's technocratic politico-administrative type - see Chapter Two: Plurality of Dimensions.

efficiency, and to deal more effectively with social conflict arising from an excess of democratic demands by institutionalising and thus containing them.

However, the neocorporatist reform process has been subject to much criticism over the operation of the reforms and their outcomes.[13] According to Yeatman, there were tensions within the reform process, in particular between:

> two sets of administrative reform - for an equitable and democratic state administration on the one hand, for efficient and effective administration, on the other - [which] lead in different and conflicting directions.[14]

That is, these reforms reflected tensions over which interests would dominate, and with what repercussions. These tensions had implications for (techno)bureaucracies, in terms of contestation about the purpose of the reforms and which interests would succeed:

> The complex web of state administration is here to stay. The questions concern the structuring of this web: whether it is 'totalised' as a technocratically managed system of control, or whether it is open to bids for 'participation' and to dialogue and contest over values orienting administrative decisions.[15]

Yeatman is principally concerned with issues of power and democracy amongst participants in the bureaucratic apparata. Keane, however, suggests that the bureaucratic reform policies for addressing the accumulation and legitimation objectives had also become the subject of

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[13] Commentary and debate about these reforms has been presented in *Australian Journal of Public Administration* and *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration* in the mid and late 1980s. For instance, Yeatman, and Bryson, and Considine are critical of the reforms. Cullen, Paterson, Wilenski, Keating, and Corbett, defend them although not uncritically, particularly the practitioners, as Corbett notes. See: Anna Yeatman. "Administrative reform and management improvement - a new 'iron cage'?" *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration*. vol.45. no.4. 1986. pp.357-61, Anna Yeatman. "The Concept of public management and the Australian State in the 1980s." *Australian Journal of Public Administration*. vol.46. no.4. 1987. pp.339-53, Lois Bryson. "A new iron cage? A view from within." *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration*. vol.45. no.4. 1986. pp.362-69, Lois Bryson. "Women and Management in the Public Sector." *Australian Journal of Public Administration*. vol.46. no.3. 1987. pp.259-70, and Mark Considine. "The corporate management framework as administrative science: a critique." *Australian Journal of Public Administration*. vol.47. no.1. 1988. pp.4-18, R.B. Cullen. "Business, government and change: Managing transition in the public and private sectors." *Australian Journal of Public Administration*. vol.46. no.1. 1988. pp.10-19, John Paterson. "A managerialist strikes back." *Australian Journal of Public Administration*. vol.47. no.4. 1988. pp.287-97, Peter Wilenski. "Social change as a source of competing values in public administration." *Australian Journal of Public Administration*. vol.47. no.3. 1988. pp.213-22, Michael Keating. "Quo vadis? Challenges of public administration." *Australian Journal of Public Administration*. vol.48. no.2. 1989. pp.123-131 and David Corbett. "Australian Public Sector Management." *Public Sector Management Institute of Monash University*. Allen and Unwin. 1992.

[14] Yeatman. "Administrative reform and management improvement." 1986. p.358.

[15] Yeatman. "Administrative reform and management improvement." 1986. p.361.

public contestation. Keane proposes that contemporary conflicts about the welfare state have seen a re-emergence of contestation about power and democracy. Moreover this conflict has been exacerbated under the new liberalism and neo-corporatist approaches - both inherently authoritarian in terms of maintaining control and increasing regulation. In the case of technobureaucratic restructuring, the reform process could not adequately account for the inclusion of some needs and the exclusion of others:

> Their *particular* schemata cannot provide compelling reasons for investing certain privileged groups with the authority to make what are in effect more general, *public* decisions.[16]

He further suggests that the "autonomous public sphere" which expressed criticism of this reform process was necessarily "differentiated, fragmented, and localised," to some extent attributable to complexity of the welfare state, but also as a result of social control strategies which aimed to keep opposition divided.[17] Thus there was a "*plurality* of public spheres" to:

> speak and be heard, to repoliticize their everyday lives, to establish qualitatively new forms of social and political relations in which public spheres of mutuality, discussion, and concern with concrete needs predominates,[18]

in confrontation with,

> administrative-bureaucratic attempts ... to restructure the welfare state and social life for a new phase of capitalist accumulation and state power.[19]

From this perspective, the reform processes undertaken by the Atkinson and Goss administrations can be understood as the implementation of the neocorporatist strategy for dealing with the twin problems of legitimation and accumulation. These reforms had repercussions for the conservation and political green movements, through quite dramatically changing the context of these movements. The following two sections address the political green and conservation movements respectively, indicating the quite distinct ways in which this altered political and institutional context was experienced by them.

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[16] Keane. "Bureaucracy and its discontents." 1984. p.25.

[17] Keane. "Bureaucracy and its discontents." 1984. p.28.

[18] Keane. "Bureaucracy and its discontents." 1984. p.29.

[19] Keane. "Bureaucracy and its discontents." 1984. p.29.

## THE GREEN POLITICAL MOVEMENT

This section addresses renewed endeavours by the political green movement to assert the sustainable communities project. It first examines the new mobilisational vehicle through which the political green movement crystallised, following the collapse of the Brisbane Green Party. It then examines the changed social and institutional context of urban dissent in Brisbane over the late 1980s, with reference to the reforms initiated by the Brisbane City Council and the response of the residents movement to these reforms.[20] This section demonstrates the renewed support for popular urban struggles by the political green movement in this changed context. It also addresses the reasons for the continuing lack of residents movement support for the green political movement's local elections campaigns, in spite of residents growing disenchantment with the long-sought reform process.

### political greens re-emerge

As noted in Chapter Five, the Green Party in Brisbane had collapsed by mid-1986, and the participants moved on to other campaigns and movements. In late 1986, however, the political green movement began to emerge again as an organised presence. Some of the ex-members of the Brisbane Green Party began meeting in relation to a national initiative, crystallised around the discussion paper, *A Major New Initiative Towards an Alternative Australia*.[21] This discussion paper opened with the statement:

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[20] As Caulfield points out, activism around urban issues in Brisbane increased dramatically over the 1980s - Jan Caulfield "Planning policy options for Brisbane's growth". Paper delivered to the Power and Policy in Brisbane Conference, Centre for Public Sector Management, Griffith University. 30-31 October 1992.

[21] [Joseph Camilleri and Jim Falk] *A Major New Initiative Towards an Alternative Australia*. Author's collection. [c.1986] u.p. In 1986, Camilleri and Falk convened the discussion groups about the strategies outlined in this paper in several capital cities throughout Australia. The proposed strategy represented the endeavour to 'unite left and non-left' progressive forces. This endeavour was reflected in publications by Camilleri and Falk, which preceded this initiative - Joseph Camilleri. "After Social Democracy." *Arena*. no.77. 1986. pp.48-73, and Jim Falk. "A colour-coded future? Towards an alternative Australia." David McNight. ed. *Moving Left*. Pluto Press. Sydney. 1986. Both Falk and Camilleri were convenors of the Victorian Movement Against Uranium Mining (Camilleri founded the Victorian Movement Against Uranium Mining and People for Nuclear Disarmament), were involved over many years in the peace movement. Both had published extensively in a range of peace movement-related areas - for further information, see Fararr, A. "Gathering together the fragments." *Australian Society*, February. 1988. pp.22-24, "The Contributors" in David McNight. ed. *Moving Left*. Pluto Press. Sydney. 1986, "What we can now do to stop uranium mining". *Chain Reaction*. no.21. 1980. p.28, and "A Dinner with Jo Camilleri". *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. May. 1988. u.p.

> What is called for is a new stream in Australian political culture, a movement of people and ideas capable of welding together a great many issues and concerns and of speaking a new language that inspires trust and hope in the future. At this historical moment there is sufficient common ground amongst thinking and caring Australian to permit a new political formation unlike anything we have previously experienced, which combines the function of movement and party and acts as a catalyst for the eventual realignment of power in Australian society. [author's emphasis][22]

A meeting was convened in Sydney in November 1986, involving representation from various states. From there, small discussion groups were convened around Australia to discuss the viability and direction of this initiative.[23]

These small groups meeting around Australia laid the foundations for the new organisation. A teleconference was set up on 22 February 1987, involving link-ups with groups in Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, Canberra, Hobart, Adelaide and Perth.[24] A national conference was convened for 9-10 May 1987 in Melbourne.[25] This initiative was formalised and named the Rainbow Alliance. At this foundation meeting, a Charter was adopted, based substantially upon *A Major New Initiative Towards an Alternative Australia*.[26] At this stage, branches were established in Melbourne, Brisbane, Sydney, and South Australia (the Western Australian delegates decided not to join).[27] The Charter continued the theme of "welding together the movement", with a platform aimed at appealing to a very broad constituency. Strategies for the organisation included education, policy development, building community, co-operation with social movements, resistance, celebration of life, political intervention, and

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[22] [Camilleri and Falk] *A Major New Initiative Towards an Alternative Australia*. [c.1986] u.p.

[23] "A major new initiative in Australian politics. Teleconference Sunday 22 February 1987. What is this teleconference?" [two page information leaflet] Author's collection. [c.1987] u.p.

[24] "A major new initiative in Australian politics. Teleconference Sunday 22 February." 1987. u.p.

[25] "National Meeting: suggested procedures". Author's collection. [c.early 1987] u.p.

[26] [Camilleri and Falk] *A Major New Initiative Towards an Alternative Australia*. [c.1986] u.p. The Rainbow Alliance documentation used in this thesis is in the author's collection. It includes minutes, newsletters, policy papers, and letters.

[27] It was formed as an organisation with membership requirements and dues. One aim was to prevent applications for membership from members of political parties or other organisations which might command their primary loyalty - See Rainbow Alliance. "Provisional structure". [charter and constitution] Author's collection. [1987] u.p.

international solidarity - the language and concerns of contemporary movements.[28]

From Brisbane, two-ex-members of the Brisbane Green Party attended the early meetings prior its formalisation as the Rainbow Alliance. A meeting was convened in Brisbane following this national meeting, and letters were sent out to invite more participation. By December 1986 over 40 people had attended meetings of this group.[29] Participation in the Brisbane group of the "new political initiative" involved many of the previous participants in the Brisbane Green Party, which had a total membership of about 120.[30] One reason for the support given to this national initiative by ex-members of the Brisbane Green Party was that its aims appeared to coincide with the green political movement's aspirations to build a 'just, humane, and ecological society' through mass movement mobilisation. Secondly, the national initiative seemed to provide a means for addressing the strategy vacuum following the demise of the Brisbane Green Party, this time on a national scale.

There were significant continuities between the discussion paper, *A Major New Political Initiative Towards an Alternative Australia* and the intentions of the earlier Brisbane Green Party. For instance, *A Major New Political Initiative Towards an Alternative Australia* begins with:

> The crisis which confronts us at the moment is not peculiar to Australia. It is part of a deeply rooted economic and political malaise characteristic of advanced capitalism. The crisis, which has assumed global proportions, now threatens to destroy not only the quality of human existence but the very ecological base on which all life depends.[31]

The discussion paper draws attention to the disarray of the labour movement, the failure of

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[28] Rainbow Alliance. "Charter of the Rainbow Alliance". [1987] u.p.

[29] Drew Hutton and Noel Preston attended the first national meeting. A letter by Malcolm Lewis states that the meeting on 20 December 1986 was the second one "to discuss further the *Major New Political Initiative*" discussion paper. Author's collection. [c.November 1986]. Meetings and social events were scheduled for Drew Hutton and Noel Preston's homes as well as public meeting places - noted in a letter signed by both, addressed to 'dear friend' inviting participation in the new political initiative. Author's collection. [c.November 1986]. This information is also noted in a letter signed by Noel Preston "re Discussion on New Initiative in Australian Politics". Author's collection. Dated 2 December 1986.

[30] Comparison of membership and names on documents of Brisbane Green Party and Rainbow Alliance formation documents confirm this. Documents in author's collection.

[31] [Camilleri and Falk] *A Major New Political Initiative*. [c.1986] u.p.

federal and state governments, and to "widespread anger, disillusionment and cynicism", "the resulting political vacuum in Australian society poses unprecedent dangers but also a unique opportunity".[32] This mass movement building approach was similar to the mass movement building approach of the political green movement. The Brisbane Green Party had sought "a major realignment in Australian politics".[33] The identification of this national initiative with the earlier green movement by the ex-members of the Brisbane Green Party was evident in the (ultimately unsuccessful) support given to naming the national initiative the Australian Greens.[34] Thus this initiative, named the Rainbow Alliance, provided a vehicle for continuing the mass movement building orientation of the political green movement.

The Rainbow Alliance also provided a vehicle for pursuing the urban issues preoccupation begun in the Brisbane Green Party by the green political movement. Through the national organisation of the Rainbow Alliance, a Sustainable Communities campaign was proposed by the Brisbane branch. A discussion paper, *Building Sustainable Cities Through Community Action*,[35] was produced to this end, and was adopted as an optional campaign for other branches of the Rainbow Alliance. The Melbourne branch organised a series of seminars on sustainable communities and linked it to the campaign to oppose the multi-function polis and VFT (Very Fast Train).[36] However in Brisbane, it was the local residents movement and urban issues which took most of the attention of the political green movement.

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[32] [Camilleri and Falk] *A Major New Political Initiative*. [c.1986] u.p.

[33] Queensland School. "Media release. Talk to be given at Queensland School, Uni. of Qld 18/7/84". [Brisbane] [one page media release] Author's collection. 1984. For more information, see Chapter Five: A New Mass Movement Building Strategy.

[34] A majority of participants in this national initiative, including those in the Brisbane group, preferred the name 'Australian Greens' over other designated options - discussed in "What came out of the Melbourne Meeting'". *Minutes 9-10 National conference. October 1987.* Author's collection. 1987, and Rainbow Alliance. "A Name at Last!" *Rainbow Alliance Newsletter*. Author's collection. October. 1987. u.p. In addition, the Rainbow Alliance group's formation papers, shows proposed names for this initiative that were very similar to those that were originally proposed for the earlier Brisbane Green Party. Documents in author's collection.

[35] Drew Hutton. "Building sustainable cities through community action". [three page strategy proposal] Author's collection. [c.1988/89] u.p.

[36] The advertising brochure, Victorian Rainbow Alliance. "Is there an environmental crisis of the city?" [Melbourne] Author's collection. [c.1990], promoted a seminar series on 'Urban Issues and the Building of Sustainable Communities'. The link between the 'sustainable communities' campaign and opposition to the multi function polis is made in Joseph Camilleri. "Multifunction Polis." *Rainbow Alliance Victoria Newsletter*. Author's collection. vol.3. no.1. 1990. p.3.

Under the auspices of the Rainbow Alliance, the participants in the political green movement reasserted the local urban issues focus initiated by the Brisbane Green Party. Again Drew Hutton was the prime initiator of this project. In proposing an urban campaign, he claimed that residents' campaigns were usually poorly organised and generally failed. However he pointed to the effectiveness of the recent campaigns opposing the siting of a chlorine plant at Lytton and the proposed northern freeways, suggesting that success in urban struggles was possible.[37] The decision was made by the Brisbane Rainbow Alliance to contest the 1988 Brisbane City Council elections. However, this urban preoccupation did not have unanimous support in the Rainbow Alliance branch. Minutes of meetings noted that Drew Hutton, who was to be the Mayoral candidate, was the prime link between the Rainbow Alliance and the community groups and that "the Rainbow Alliance has decided to support Drew's campaign."[38] These comments indicate a degree of separation between the election campaign and the Rainbow Alliance.

A meeting in 12 September 1987 proposed that the local government election campaign be organised as a coalition with the Australian Democrats, the New Left Group (eventually the New Left Party), and other community groups, with a common mayoral candidate and overall policies. This proposal was part of the on-going endeavour to mobilise a mass movement, in this instance capitalising on the continuing urban unrest in Brisbane:

> Such a campaign has the potential to set the political agenda for these elections, largely around urban environmental issues because of the activities of various community groups ... Sally-Anne Atkinson [Lord Mayor Liberal of Brisbane City Council] is trying the co-opt these movements but they reflect the strength of the grassroots movements.[39]

Meanwhile various residents protests were supported by some members of the Rainbow Alliance. The two commanding most attention were the Expo 88 conflict and the proposed Route 20 freeway. The Rainbow Alliance campaigned against the siting of Expo 88 at South

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[37] Drew Hutton. "The Rainbow Alliance in Brisbane." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. vol.1. no.2. 1988. p.4.

[38] Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland. *Minutes 12/9/1987*. Author's collection. 1987.

[39] Discussion about contestation of the 1988 local government elections was noted in Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland. *Minutes 12/9/87*.

Brisbane, primarily on the grounds of social equity and related housing issues.[40] Alignments were formed with others active around this issue, notably the Southside Urban Research Group.[41] The other campaign was the Campaign Against Route Twenty, established in 1987, to protest against the proposed freeway through the northern suburbs of Brisbane. This campaign generated a large amount of public controversy and criticism, directed towards the Liberal Atkinson administration. It was the main issue for the Community Action Team Mayoral candidate, who changed to a ward candidate for The Gap to contest the ward specifically over this issue.[42]

Following debate about representing the election campaign as primarily green or community action, the latter was chosen in the interests of generating the most support from residents. Moreover the Community Action Team addressed the residents' agenda, articulating their campaigns and concerns in terms of the sustainable communities project:

> The time has come for ... unimaginative, unsustainable, unjust and undemocratic practices to be challenged ... The main groups which have been offering a viable alternative to the people of Brisbane are the various community action groups which have been fighting against one or another destructive development. This is the force behind the Community Action Team.[43]

There were also concerted efforts by the election campaigners to encourage prominent residents movement activists to stand as candidates under the umbrella of this campaign. In particular, the Campaign Against Route Twenty was approached, as were some other prominent activists.[44] However, in spite of attempts to interest the residents movement in

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[40] The Expo 88 campaign was mounted to raise public awareness of social and environment repercussion of the siting of Expo 88 in South Brisbane: see Rainbow Alliance. "Bring our housing crisis to this Government's attention. Peaceful protest and picket." [one page leaflet] [Brisbane]. Author's collection. [c.1988].

[41] Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland and Southside Urban Research Group. "Your eviction could arrive any day." [one page leaflet] [Brisbane] Author's collection. [c.1988], and Southside Urban Research Group. "Media release. The struggle for the Inner Suburbs has begun." [one page media release/leaflet] [Brisbane] Author's collection. 23 November 1987, both promoted the Community Action Team.

[42] This focus was evident in election material, for instance Drew Hutton. *Independent for the Gap*. [2 page leaflet for The Gap Ward candidate] Author's collection. [1988] u.p., and *The Green Independent*. [broadsheet for CAT candidate for The Gap Ward] Author's collection. [1988] u.p.

[43] Community Action Team. *Preface. Draft Policies for 1988 Election*. Author's collection. [c.1988]. u.p.

[44] The Community Action Team organisers hoped that the Campaign Against Route 20 committee would endorse a member to stand as a Community Action Team candidate for the ward of The Gap. Others who considered standing as Community Action Team candidates included an Aboriginal Anglican Minister, and an activist who had

this election campaign, three of the four Community Action Team candidates were members of the Rainbow Alliance. Only one was a participant in the residents movement (a fifth stood separately in Maroochy Shire as a Green and Rainbow Alliance candidate). Candidates were fielded in the wards of The Gabba, Kianawah, Paddington, and The Gap.[45]

The policies for the Community Action Team campaign endeavoured to reflect the preoccupations and concerns of the residents movement.[46] The policy package and campaign material referred to specific controversial issues.[47] Moreover the conservation movement policies for local and state government reform were also incorporated in the policy material.[48] The policy package also endeavoured to reflect community demands for consultation. However the reform process which was evident to some degree under the prevailing Labor administration was subjected to critique on the basis that it intended to give more power to developers. This view was initially expressed by the Brisbane Green Party:

> Development and big business lobbies are organising to take over local councils in order to remove existing restrictions of development ... Victories by these lobbies would be to leave the natural environment and viable community life prey to developers.[49]

However the reform process and re-organisation of the residents movement changed the context for the political green movement.

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been heavily involved in the earlier campaign opposing the chlorine plant at Lytton - noted in Drew Hutton. "After the Elections." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. vol.2. no.1. 1988. p.1.

[45] Noted in Drew Hutton. "After the elections". *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Newsletter*. Author's collection. vol.2. no.2. 1988. p.1 and Warren Bowden and Jean Bowden. "Election reports." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. vol.2. no.2. 1988. pp.2-4.

[46] Community Action Team. *Draft Policies*. Author's collection. 1988. u.p.

[47] This preoccupation is evident in the election campaign materials in, for instance, Drew Hutton. *Independent for the Gap*. 1988. u.p., *The Green Independent*. 1988. u.p., *Community Action Team: A New Approach*. [broadsheet for The Gabba Ward BCC election campaign] Author's collection. 1988. u.p., and Community Action Team. *Community Action Team*. [broadsheet for Paddington Ward election campaign] Author's collection. 1988. u.p.

[48] The policy on Local Conservation Strategies, for instance, includes proposals for natural resource management and impact assessments, as well as specifying areas for preservation such as the Boondall Wetlands - see Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland. *Local Conservation Strategies*. Author's collection. [1988]. u.p.

[49] Green Party. "Media release. Green Party calls for action on local government." [one page media release] [Brisbane] Author's collection. [c.early 1985].

**tensions between residents and the reforming local government**

The Atkinson administration which came to power in Brisbane City Council in 1985 introduced a range of reforms involving a re-organised local government bureaucracy, an expansion of the agenda of the council, and enhanced consultation processes. This reform process constituted the corporatisation of local government, already under way in many other states, but lagging in Brisbane and Queensland generally. The Queensland National Government continued their authoritarian political style of government, to promote development and suppress public dissent.[50] Meanwhile the Federal Government had aided the reform process throughout Australia, even though the local governments were the legislative province of state governments. For instance, the Local Government Association in Queensland in 1985 was awarded a $35,000 grant to develop a corporate strategy for Queensland under the Local Government Program of the Department of Local Government and Administrative Services.[51] The corporatisation of Brisbane aimed at "working together ... [by] ... involving people throughout the organisation [local government authority] in the overall decision-making process":[52] that is, to develop a team approach to better meet the needs of the community, and to establish priorities through better planning.

According to its proponents, the corporate reforms were a response to the new emerging role for local government in Australia which reflected their expanded range of functions, the increasingly complex funding base, and increasing demands by the community for opportunities for consultation.[53] More specifically, however, the reform local government was a manifestation of the restructuring of the liberal state to deal with the twin problem of

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[50] See Chapter Three: Political Economy and the Queensland Government.

[51] See "The local government corporate management strategy manual - a practical guide for improvement." *Locgov Digest*. vol.12. no.5. 1986. p.11-12.

[52] "The local government corporate management strategy manual - a practical guide for improvement." 1986. p.12.

[53] See, for instance, by Ross Symons. "Organisational change in government." *Australian Local Government Handbook*. Australian Government Publishing Service. 1989 and Jeff Floyd and David Palmer. *Corporate Management in Local Government. An Introduction*. Hargreen Publishing Co. North Melbourne, Victoria. 1985. Caulfield assesses the corporatisation strategy for Brisbane City Council by the Labor Government between 1989 and 1991 - Jan Caulfield. "Planning policy options for Brisbane's growth". Paper delivered to the Power and Policy in Brisbane Conference, Centre for Public Sector Management, Griffith University. 30-31 October 1992.

accumulation and legitimation, through the introduction of technocratic management practices.[54] Thus, the local government reforms were driven by the objectives of: management of infrastructure in relation to demographic change, planning at local government level to enhance economic growth in the regions, and containment of social dissent.

The Atkinson administration was ambitious about instituting this reform process in Brisbane, as the Queensland National Party Government had ignored the reform process to date. However, both governments had continued to prioritise development issues. For instance, the Atkinson administration was committed to running Brisbane as a corporation which provided services, made profits and competed with private companies. The administration (unsuccessfully) endeavoured to enter joint-venturing activities, using city assets to gain financial returns.[55] The introduction of reforms was feasible for Brisbane primarily because of its size. Brisbane was the largest city council in Australia, providing services to a population of 3/4 million, nearly double the population of Tasmania.[56] The massive demographic change in Queensland over the late 1970s and the 1980s increased the necessity for improved coordination in order to deal with accumulation and legitimation functions and outcomes.

The Atkinson administration introduced reforms to the bureaucracy of the Brisbane City Council. Initially, John White Management Consultants was commissioned to conduct an organisational review as a basis for the reforms. A Corporate Strategy Committee was also established to direct the Corporate Strategy Planning Programme. The Programme aimed to:

> direct the on-going corporate strategy planning programme; to establish a thee year forwards budget linked to the objectives of Council along with an annual budget cycle; to develop improved performance, review mechanism within Council; and to establish ways of conveying community ideas and attitudes on social and economic

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[54] See above section, Chapter Six: Technobureaucratic Reform Process.

[55] See "The New Corporate Brisbane". *Courier Mail*. Brisbane. 27 September 1988. p.8. This plan was not successful - "Thumbs down for Councils' venture likely." *Courier Mail*. Brisbane. 28 September 1988. p.16.

[56] Neylan proposes that the Brisbane City Council was a unique local government in Australia on the grounds that it had many similarities with state governments, including the Parliamentary-type forums, voting in the chamber along party lines, and aldermen as full-time politicians - Mark Neylan. "Sally-Anne Atkinson. Her rise and fall." *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration*. no.65. 1991. pp.20-24.

matters to Council.[57]

This was the first step in what would be far-ranging reforms towards a corporatist Brisbane.

Fundamental to this reform process was the enhancement of the local government's role in economic development. Economic development issues had not traditionally been a responsibility for local government, except informally in terms of competition with other local authorities to attract industry and government funding.[58] According to the Director of Corporate Planning for Brisbane City Council:

> The realisation that a city's economic fortunes are not necessarily tied to the performance of the national or even the state economy has long been recognised and acted upon in Britain and the United States..... Most AIUS [Australian Institute of Urban Studies] members would be familiar with the fundamental restructuring which is currently taking place in the world economic order, and the fact that the restructuring has little regard for traditional concentrations of population and wealth. It was in response to these pressures that cities overseas began to organise - as economic units in their own right - the defence of their own hometowns [sic] and their own standards with stable future employment prospects.[59]

The Council established an Office of Economic Development:

> This pioneering initiative is a marvellous example of the successful operation which can take place between local government and the private sector.[60]

The Economic Development Steering Committee comprised: business, government, and academic representation, altogether 40 people who gave time voluntarily. It also involved consultation - an interview program - with business interests in commerce and industry.[61]

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[57] Brisbane City Council. *Lord Mayor's Report. Brisbane City Council. Brisbane City Council Annual Report. 1984-85*. Brisbane. pp.4-5.

[58] This is discussed in some detail by Wanna - John Wanna. "The politics of economic development strategies". Paper delivered to the Power and Policy in Brisbane Conference, Centre for Public Sector Management, Griffith University. 30-31 October 1992.

[59] Ric Graf. "An economic strategy for the city of Brisbane." *Australian Urban Studies*. vol.13. no.6. 1986. p.11. Atkinson was in full support of this, as she wanted local government to expand from the 'rates, roads, rubbish and rats' and 'drains, ditches and dunnies' role, to the economic growth of cities. Lord Mayor Atkinson was convinced that local government should have a strong role in economic development strategies - see Tony Thomas. "Good housekeeper trims Brisbane's fat." *Business Review Weekly*. June 3. 1988. p.85,87.

[60] Brisbane City Council. *Lord Mayor's Report. Brisbane City Council. Brisbane City Council Annual Report. 1985-86*. Brisbane. p.2.

[61] Graf. "An economic strategy for the city of Brisbane." 1986. p.11.

This consultation involved a select section of community representation. Community in this instance referred only to experts and those with a qualified interest in outcomes of policy decisions, and did not refer to the general community. This was a management strategy, not a democratic one.

However, the provision of improved opportunities for community consultation was another significant feature of the reform process. According to its proponents, the community consultation model involved: facilitating self-help between residents to solve their own problems, providing assistance to community groups and non-government groups aid their provision of services to the community, and the participation of the community in the development and planning of services, and their evaluation. This was to be achieved through a variety of roles such as facilitation of support functions, initiation of projects, liaison and advocacy.[62] 'Community partnership' strategies were established early in the administration, through citizen's participation in the Citizens Advisory Committee, Student Representative Council, and Community Advisory Boards. A centre-piece to community partnership was "taking the Civic Cabinet into the suburbs". A series of 10 public meetings in suburban locations were convened to enable citizens to discuss council matters "face to face".[63] However the community consultation model was one of management of dissent rather than democracy, to deal with legitimation concerns in the face of rising demands upon local government, and criticism of public policy.

The second phase of the Atkinson reform process was signalled by the implementation of the internal restructuring of the Council and the declaration of the Corporate and Mission Statements in 1989. The Mission Statement stated that:

> The Mission of the Brisbane City Council is for Brisbane to be a capital city which is: safe, healthy, convenient and dynamic; friendly affordable, prosperous and diverse in opportunity; rich in heritage, character and environmental quality.[64]

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[62] Joan Roberts. "Local government and community development." *Australian Local Government Handbook*. Australian Government Publishing Service. 1989. pp.44-46.

[63] Brisbane City Council. *Lord Mayor's Report. Brisbane City Council. Brisbane City Council Annual Report. 1985-86*. Brisbane, and Brisbane City Council. *Lord Mayor's Report. Brisbane City Council. Brisbane City Council Annual Report. 1986-87*. Brisbane.

[64] Brisbane City Council. *Brisbane City Council Annual Report. 1989-90*. Brisbane. p.1.

The Corporate Statement covered issues including: basis of authority, changes to legislation, role of the Council, goals of the Council, functions of the Council, community services, structure of administration.[65] However the linchpin of this second phase of reform was the development of the Brisbane Plan, published in 1990. It was in part based upon previous studies such as the Brisbane Traffic Study. The Brisbane Plan was a comprehensive set of proposals to provide for more efficient management of urban infrastructure for domestic and economic development purposes, necessarily in cooperation with the Queensland National Government.[66]

Since 1985, the residents movement had achieved some impact upon Brisbane urban policy directions. For instance, the controversial Brisbane Traffic Plan was superseded by the Southeast Queensland Passenger Transport Study, and the highly popular campaign to prevent the building of Route Twenty was successful. However these reforms and successes did not see an end to urban dissent. Conflict intensified under the local government planning and consultation reforms.[67]

This escalation in urban conflict can to some extent be attributed to the politicisation of issues through the consultation process: there were more opportunities for comment upon proposed policy. Moreover, at this early stage of the reform process the residents movement was still quite fragmented, with no peak council for interfacing with local government authorities. Residents' dissent was still primarily defensive and protest-oriented. However the escalation in conflict can also be attributed to the conflicting agendas between the residents movement and the Brisbane City Council. While the residents demanded democratic processes which enabled them a voice in policy making, the agenda of the Council was management of dissent. A study of community consultation on the Brisbane Plan concluded that:

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[65] Brisbane City Council. *Brisbane City Council Annual Report. 1989-90*. Brisbane. pp.4-5.

[66] See the Brisbane City Council. *The Brisbane Plan. A City Strategy*. Brisbane. 1990.

[67] Recent research by Caulfield indicates the extent of proliferation of urban protest groups in Brisbane over the previous few decades. It is difficult to quantify the degree of community activism in relation to this thesis, as she has categorised groups in a different way. For instance, while she distinguishes between business groups and community groups, community groups is more broadly defined than in this thesis. Nonetheless, this research does reasonably support the claim in this thesis that the residents movement did mushroom over that period - Jan Caulfield. "Planning policy options for Brisbane's growth". 1992.

> The weaknesses in the consultation process ... which limited genuine community expression bring into focus perhaps the more important role of the consultative mechanism as a form of legitimation for the local state.[68]

**political greens endeavour to influence urban debate**

This escalation of urban conflict was the setting for the reassertion of sustainable communities by the political green movement. The Community Action Team campaign continued the earlier practice of the Green Party of articulating the residents issues within the framework of revitalising local communities for a 'just, humane, and ecological society'. For instance, an organising conference for the election campaign confirmed the reassertion of the sustainable communities project based primarily on the Brisbane Green Party policies,[69] for:

> a more environmentally responsible, socially just and democratically run city ... where everyday life is underpinned by such values as environmental responsibility, social justice and participatory democracy.[70]

Like the earlier Brisbane Green Party policy platform, the Community Action Team policy package was based upon the four green pillars - "harmony with nature", including energy, protection of natural areas, and a clean and healthy environment; "a just and caring community", including town planning, a caring community, and finance; "giving people a say", including participatory democracy as "empowering local communities, empowering community groups, openness and consultation"; and lastly, "a peaceful city" in relation to a nuclear-free Brisbane.[71] The aim was to eliminate "alienation" in the community, and to promote "sociability, co-operation, mutual aid, and resilience" through people having "real

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[68] Janice Caulfield and John Minnery. *Public Consultation and Legitimation: A Study of the 1990-91 Brisbane Strategy Plan, Power and Public Policy in Brisbane*. Brisbane Research Paper no.6. February. Centre for Australian Public Sector Management. 1992. p.14.

[69] See agenda for a meeting of the Rainbow Alliance scheduled for 31 November 1987. Author's collection. 1987.

[70] Community Action Team. *Draft Program for Brisbane City Council Elections*. Author's collection. [promotional leaflet which includes some policy background] [1988] u.p.

[71] Community Action Team. "Invitation to planning afternoon". [one page leaflet] Author's collection. 31 November 1987. These themes were also evident in Community Action Team. *Draft Program for Brisbane City Council Elections*. 1988. u.p.

influence in local affairs".[72]

The 1985 electoral campaign received reasonable support from the electorate: Kianawah 23.6%, The Gap 18.5%, The Gabba 10.1%, and Paddington 9.2%.[73] This outcome was meaningful mainly in terms of registering a protest vote against the major parties. The election campaign by the Community Action Team also provided a forum for communicating the sustainable communities project to a wider audience, through media attention and networking with the residents movement - particularly Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation.

Following the election campaign, plans were made by the political green movement to continue supporting the residents movement, not least because of the escalating conflict about the siting of Expo 88. A strategy for political transformation was developed, proposing a three-fold strategy for working towards "sustainable cities".[74] Firstly, the agenda of the residents groups which were protesting against unwelcome developments in their localities was interpreted as the first stage of the strategy - "resistance". Secondly, "reconstruction" referred to residents placing pressure on governments to provide facilities and amenities which would enhance equity and quality of life. These amenities and facilities incorporated the sustainable communities approach to building community:

> food co-ops, work co-ops, alternative energy projects, neighbourhood centres, community gardens and urban farms. The end result of such activities include the development of a more profound sense of local community and neighbourhood power.[75]

Thirdly, electoral intervention was proposed as a means for achieving transformation of the political system. Party politics was criticised in favour of political representation accountable to the community. Bureaucratic means of dealing with issues was also subject to critique:

> Community action groups will become the focus for political struggle, especially

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[72] Community Action Team. *Draft Policies for the 1988 Brisbane City Council Elections*. 1988. u.p.

[73] Drew Hutton. "After the elections." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. vol.2. no.2. 1988. p.1.

[74] Drew Hutton. "Building sustainable cities through community action". [c.1988/89] u.p.

[75] Drew Hutton. "Building sustainable cities through community action". [c.1988/89] u.p.

> between ourselves [Rainbow Alliance, greens, supporters] and the ALP. In that struggle we should take a strong stand against single-issue orientations, technocratic approaches to problem solving and working only through the ALP. We should emphasise the visionary nature of our programme, the need for people to be self-directed rather than bureaucratically manipulated and the links between issues.[76]

Thus urban unrest in this paper was interpreted as a potentially radical mobilisation for more participatory political institutions based on a more integrative approach to problem-solving, and empowerment of local communities rather than uncritical engagement in conventional politics through parties, lobbying, and participation in token consultation.

To facilitate the development of a more radical community mass movement in Brisbane and throughout Australia, an Environmental Activists Kit was produced over 1987-88. While focusing upon urban issues, the Kit also reflected the more general orientation of the green political movement. The Introduction, for instance, states that:

> Sustainability is forged from the interaction of environmental awareness, collective freedom and individual responsibility. It is not the simple product of environmental management.[77]

The Kit refers to the necessity for presenting "viable alternatives to present social structures", fundamental for achieving social and environmental objectives.[78] Primarily, however, the Kit was intended to enhance the skilling of the community:

> We cannot create a sustainable future without first building humane, practical and stable communities. ... This education kit has been designed in an attempt to provide some of the information required by people who wish to promote the development of sustainable communities'.[79]

It had a series of papers on skill development, such as public speaking, leafleting, dealing with the media, group process and meeting techniques, and getting local groups started. The Kit also contained information and bibliographic references to a range of local and global issues, including ocean pollution, greenhouse effect, ozone depletion, and deforestation.

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[76] Drew Hutton. "Building sustainable cities through community action". [c.1988/89] u.p.

[77] Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland. *Environmental Activists Kit*. [series of papers with background information about urban and environmental issues, and campaigning skills and strategies] Author's collection. [1989]. pp.1-2.

[78] Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland. *Environmental Activists Kit*. [1989].

[79] Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland. "Introduction". *Environmental Activists Kit*. [1989]. p.2.

Local issues included the housing struggle in West End in relation to Expo 88, and hazardous chemicals issues in Brisbane.[80]

The Atkinson Liberal was administration was returned to office, and residents' discontent continued and escalated. Meanwhile the political green movement continued to aspire to politicise the residents movement.[81] However, in spite of increased criticism of the Atkinson administration, the residents movement, did not turn to the political green movement. Throughout the election campaign there had been no formal endorsement from the residents movement. Even the Kianawah candidate, who was not a member of the Rainbow Alliance ran effectively as an independent and did not highlight his involvement in the Community Action Team ticket.[82]

The failure to interest the residents movement can be attributed to the inability of the political green movement, at this time, to gain the credibility of the broader residents movement. This was due in part to insufficient numbers to popularise their views. As noted above, the Rainbow Alliance branch did not give whole-hearted support. There were too few to do enough networking. Most of it was done by one person, Drew Hutton, who did not have sufficient public profile or credibility at this stage, in spite of the profile he achieved in the previous local government election. This task was made even more difficult because the residents movement was still quite fragmented. Another factor for the lack of receptivity of the residents movement to this green initiative was that the residents had their own agendas in relation to the urban issues context from which they emerged. These urban agendas gained momentum from 1987 as the residents movement organisationally consolidated.

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[80] Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland. *Environmental Activists Kit*. [1989].

[81] This preoccupation is evident in the development of the activists kit discussed above, and particularly in the strategy paper - Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland. *Environmental Activists Kit*. [1989]. Also the Rainbow Alliance was involved in the residents campaign to oppose the siting of a radio-active dump in the Brisbane suburb of Redbank - references were made to this campaign throughout *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletters* in 1989, for instance, "Redbank." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. August. 1989. p.18.

[82] The election material for this candidate made no reference to the Community Action Team, in spite of the candidate's participation in the Community Action Team planning meetings.

**the momentum of the residents movement**

The reforms of the Brisbane City Council changed the context of residents protest in two main ways. First of all there were seemingly enhanced opportunities for the residents to voice their concerns through the consultation processes. Secondly, the reforms provided a policy framework in which the future of Brisbane could be planned, rather than to unfold according to the dictates of the market.[83] Thus, the residents movement developed a stake in the reform process, and re-organised to better engage with it. In the latter part of the 1980s two main residents organisations were formed, with the capability of critiquing urban policy and proposing policy alternatives - the Urban Coalition and the Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation. These were not the only groups which gained status of community groups for consultation. Others included the Queensland Conservation Council, SEARCH, Coalition of the Urban Fringe, and the Bicycle institute.[84] However, the Urban Coalition and the Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation were the most significant, as well as representing two quite diverse directions for the residents movement.

The Urban Coalition was formed in 1988 in Brisbane to act as a coordinating body for residents groups, and to deal with the large centralised Brisbane City Council administration and the large constituencies in the wards.[85] The objectives of the Urban Coalition were to aid in:

> providing affiliated groups with resources to help them in achieving their goals; facilitating networking between affiliated groups, facilitating the access of community groups and individual residents to the relevant decision-making authorities; co-ordinating campaigns by affiliated groups; undertaking campaigns in respect of issues which affiliated bodies are unable to address; enhancing as far as possible the

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[83] In the first Brisbane City Council Annual Report a chart of 'accountability' was established which linked the Brisbane City Residents to the Lord Mayor and the Elected Council, then the General Manager, the Operating Units and lastly the Program Management. This model for accountability to the public reflected the parliamentary accountability system, possible because of the size and characteristics of the Brisbane City Council as noted earlier by Neylan. Mark Neylan. "Sally-Anne Atkinson. Her rise and fall." *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration*. no.65. 1991. pp.20-24.

[84] "South-East Queensland Passenger Transport Study." *The Flying Carpet. Traffic and Transportation Newsletter. An Urban Coalition Publication*. Author's collection. 1990. p.13.

[85] Urban Coalition. "Urban Coalition. Communities working for better Brisbane." [four page promotional leaflet] [c.1990] u.p. Objectives were also outlined in a letter from Urban Coalition to Deputy Premier and Minister for Housing and Local Government Tom Burns, dated 10 July 1990. Author's collection.

effectiveness of affiliated groups.[86]

Amongst its goals were environmental limits for economic activities, social justice in the operation of the city, public participation in planning and development issues, and decentralised decision-making structures.[87]

Before the formation of the Urban Coalition, many residents groups were affiliated with the Queensland Conservation Council and looked to it for organisational and campaign support.[88] The Urban Coalition freed up the Queensland Conservation Council from some of the burden of the urban agenda. It also encouraged a more specific urban focus and a different set of alignments to the conservation organisations.[89] By 1992 the Urban Coalition had about 60 member organisations. The member groups included specific issues groups such as Norman Creek Flood Association, Sandgate Wetlands and Melaleuca Preservation Society, People Against Aircraft Noise, and the Toohey Forest Protection Society. Member groups also included suburb-based groups such as the New Farm Teneriffe Residents Association, Southside Urban Research Group, Paddington Residents Group, and Herston/Kelvin Grove Residents Action Meeting, which raised a variety of environmental and traffic-related issues including traffic, housing, and rates and evaluations. Moreover, member groups also included broader campaigns and organisations such as the Bicycle Institute of Queensland, Common Equity Rental Housing Co-operatives in Queensland, and Queensland Community Arts.[90] These alignments differed from those established by the political green movement, which identified with the peace, women's and environmental movements rather than specific lobby groups.

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[86] Urban Coalition. "Urban Coalition. Communities working for better Brisbane". [c.1990] u.p.

[87] Urban Coalition. "Urban Coalition. Communities working for better Brisbane". [c.1990] u.p.

[88] Elizabeth Bourne. "Editorial." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.7. no.3. 1986. p.1.

[89] In the regional areas, conservation organisations were the principal vehicles for voicing residents concerns over urban issues, although in the early 1990s some separate residents groups had emerged on the Sunshine and Gold Coasts. For instance, see "Focus on Sunshine Coast." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.8. no.1. 1987. pp.4-5, and "Local government elections," *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.9. no.2. 1988. p.3.

[90] Refer to *Urban Coalition Newsletter*.

The Urban Coalition was committed to enhancing opportunities for community involvement in decision-making, as the above objectives state. To this end the Urban Coalition sought legitimisation as a representative of a large urban constituency, and government funding to aid it in this role.[91] The Urban Coalition was represented on the Brisbane City Council Strategy 2000, (renamed Brisbane Plan - A City Strategy) and the Community Consultation Committee of the South East Queensland Passenger Transport Study. It was also represented on Queensland Labor Government initiatives, including the Inner City Redevelopment Co-ordination Committee.[92]

In spite of success in achieving recognition as a community representative, the Urban Coalition was nonetheless critical of these consultation processes. Disappointment was, however, expressed as the need to improve the processes. For instance, the funding of the Urban Coalition for a study on community development by the BCC was seen as "a step forward to BCC resourcing the Urban Coalition".[93] They advocated changes to the reforms which would enable the community a larger say in planning.[94] This focus on improving the consultation process contributed to the lack of interest in the more radical orientation of the political green movement. The residents had a stake in the process and were unwilling to jeopardise their position.

Moreover, parts of the residents movement were also developing their own agenda and vision for Brisbane's future. Campaign Against Route 20 also participated in the new consultation reforms with the Urban Coalition, such as the Brisbane Traffic Study and the Brisbane Plan. However, after changing the name to Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation, this organisation developed in a direction which was quite different from the Urban Coalition. Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation claimed to have taken a holistic approach

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[91] The Urban Coalition requested funding from the Queensland Government for that purpose, stating that the local government had already been including it in some forums - stated in a letter from Urban Coalition to Deputy Premier and Minister for Housing and Local Government Tom Burns, dated 10 July 1990. Author's collection.

[92] Urban Coalition. *Minutes 7/3/90* Author's collection. 1990, Urban Coalition. *Minutes. 10/4/90* Author's collection. 1990, and Urban Coalition. *Minutes 8/5/90.* Author's collection. 1990.

[93] Urban Coalition. *Minutes 11/7/90*. Author's collection. 1990.

[94] This issue was discussed in Urban Coalition. "Where to now?" Author's collection. 1990. u.p., and The Brisbane City Council. *Brisbane Plan: A Community Development Model.* 9 June. 1990.

to the problem of the proposed Route 20 freeway, which catalysed public protest and its formation:

> In 1987 CART was set up by residents to fight the Route 20 'freeway' in Brisbane. Instead of trying to push it into some-one else's back yard, they looked for a city-wide solution to traffic, believing that a holistic approach was the only equitable way for the community to respond. CART also realised that if the community was to participate meaningfully in the reshaping of their neighbourhoods and wider city, they needed new information as well as a lateral vision of the city as a positive environment in which to live. Even before CART won the Route 20 battle, there was increasing pressure from both community groups and government departments and institutions for CART to share the results of their research and lateral thinking.[95]

Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation claimed it "dared to open the debate on the shape of our post "Auto Age cities".[96]

Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation gained some funding from the Australia Council in 1989, for their National Livable Streets Project. According to Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation:

> While reclaiming of our streets is the focus, the reclaiming of our cities, and indeed our humanity, is an integral part of the process.[97]

To this end, Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation produced a video, *2040. A Message from the Future*, two publications, *Traffic Calming. The Solution to Route 20* and *Towards an Eco-City. Calming the Traffic*, all geared towards the problems of an automobile oriented city and proposing alternatives which satisfied environmental and social quality of life criteria.[98] Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation accordingly formed alignments on a different basis to that the Urban Coalition. While the Urban Coalition retained its strong links with the conservation movement, the Citizens Advocating

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[95] Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation. "Three Resources". [two page promotional leaflet] Author's collection. [c.1993].

[96] Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation. "Three Resources". [c.1993].

[97] Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation. "Three Resources". [c.1993].

[98] This video was awarded the two Royal Australian Planning Institute (Qld) 1991 Awards for Excellence in Planning: the Community Planning Award and Overall Award for Excellence. The 'automobile dominated' city was seen as contravening basic human rights as spelt out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was argued that the focus of planning should shift from planning "for the privileged to planning for the most easily marginalised". Also concerns were raised about the need for "rehumanising our cities" - noted in Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation. "Three Resources. Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation. [c.1993].

Responsible Transportation focused more explicitly upon transportation issues. For instance, David Enwicht from Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation presented a paper at the 1989 International Pedestrian Conference in Boulder, Colorado, and also addressed universities, government departments throughout Australia on transportation related issues. Also Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation became involved in resourcing residents groups in other parts of Australia.[99]

Apart from its different issue orientation in comparison with the Urban Coalition, the approach by Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation also differed from the technocratically-oriented Brisbane City Council. It had a more radical approach than either of them. However, it also remained at odds with the political green movement, having its own historical momentum and social base, and an identity with urban traffic issues rather than the green movement global perspective.

**political greens regroup**

The government reform process initiated by the Brisbane City Council Liberal Atkinson administration in 1985, changed the terms of urban debate in Brisbane irrevocably. The introduction of coordination and consultation practices saw the rise of the new corporate Brisbane and eventually a more organised and pro-active residents movement. Meanwhile, for the political green movement, urban conflict remained a vehicle for the continued articulation of mass movement building towards creating a 'just, humane, and ecological' society - their environmental project. The residents movement was diverse, as indicated by the examples of the Urban Coalition and Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation. Nonetheless, overall it had a stake in the reform process, and it was thus locked into conventional political strategies.

A major strategy for the residents movement was to lobby the major political parties. For instance, the Citizens Advocating Responsible Transportation (at that time known as Campaign Against Route Twenty) was not willing to support the Community Action Team

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[99] "Route 20 Victory." *Urban Coalition Newsletter*. Author's collection. August. 1990. p.1.

against the Labor Party candidates. The organisation would not permit an otherwise quite willing active participant to run as a Community Action Team in the interests of remaining non-partisan.[100] This reflected a reluctance to run against the Labor Party, which was the only alternative local government to the Liberal Party. At a state level, the Labor Party was supported by the residents movement for the 1989 state elections, as the Labor Party had promised local government reforms throughout Queensland.[101]

Criticism of the Atkinson administration together with the green second preferences directed away from the Liberal administration saw the ousting in 1991 of the Liberal administration in favour of a new Labor one under Jim Soorley.[102] The Brisbane Plan was discarded, but the implementation of the reform process was continued nonetheless by the new Labor administration under Lord Mayor Soorley.[103] Again, party politics was seen by the residents movement as the principal means for achieving better consultation strategies and urban outcomes.

The 1989 elections saw the Labor Party successfully wrest Queensland Government from the National Party. The National Party was floundering amongst charges of corruption coming to light through the Fitzgerald Inquiry. The new Queensland Labor Government began to implement a state and local government reform process. The reform of local government in Brisbane was facilitated by the Labor Party winning the Brisbane City Council in the 1991 elections.[104] Thus the residents movement continued to have a stake in the reform process

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[100] Drew Hutton. "The Rainbow Alliance in Brisbane." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. vol.1. no.2. 1988. p.4.

[101] The Log of Claims produced by the conservation movement also addressed issues of urban reform, for planning and community consultation. The Labor Party claimed to support these demands. This issue is discussed in "The Green Challenge". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.10. no.2. 1989. p.10. Also see Chapter Three: Ousting the National Party Government for further information about the Green Challenge Log of Claims campaign and the expectations of Labor being a reforming government.

[102] See Mark Neylan. "Sally-Anne Atkinson. Her rise and fall." 1991. p.24.

[103] For instance, see Brisbane City Council. *Mayor's Report. Brisbane City Council. Brisbane City Council Annual Report. 1991-92*. Brisbane.

[104] According to Neylan, local government reform in Queensland was subject to two major reviews - the Local Authority Electoral System and the Local Authorities External Boundaries, and also was affected by a range of other non-specific reviews - making it the most comprehensive and difficult part of the reform process - Mark Neylan. "Coping with 'Inquiry Overload': Local Government Reform under the Goss Government." *Social Alternatives*.

and conventional political strategies.

For the political green movement, the stake in the reform process by the residents movement acted as an obstacle to achieving alignments with them. By the late 1980s, the political green movement was again left marginalised from the residents movement. Moreover, the failure to substantially gain support from the residents movement made direction more difficult. Meanwhile the Queensland state elections scheduled for 1989 provided another campaigning opportunity for the political green movement. The main theme of the 1989 Green Independent state election campaign was sustainable development, linked with general environmental and social issues.[105] A range of current urban and conservation issues were also specified. Under the heading of "Economic Development for a Sustainable Future", the issues of energy, tourism, urban planning, industrial development, and agriculture and forestry were referred to, as were chemical hazards which had been raised in inner-city areas at that time. These issues reflected many of the concerns of the conservation and urban concerns, as well as having a social agenda reflecting the issues pertinent to the radical political movements.

However, the main target for allegiance in this campaign was the conservation movement. As the elections approached, the participants in the Green Independent campaigns endeavoured to interest the conservation organisations in their electoral campaigning. To this end, the Rainbow Alliance candidate became involved in the conservation movement's Election Working Group.[106] Endorsement was sought from the conservation movement with sufficient success for the campaign material to claim the endorsement of the Queensland Conservation Council and Australian Littoral Society for the campaign.[107] Moreover,

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vol.11. no.2. 1992. pp.29-41.

[105] This link was apparent in campaign material such as the broadsheet distributed to householders - *The Green Independent* [a broadsheet produced for the Green Independent campaign for South Brisbane, Queensland state elections] Author's collection. 1989.

[106] Drew Hutton. "Green Politics in Australia and the Queensland Elections." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. vol.2. no.6. 1989.

[107] Drew Hutton was the candidate for the electorate of South Brisbane, in the 1989 state election campaign. He was also a member of the Executive of the Queensland Conservation Society - noted in "Green Independents campaign. I am writing to seek your financial help". [one page leaflet] Author's collection. [c.1989], and 'Can you help the Green candidates' campaign?" [one page leaflet] Author's collection. [c.1989]. Also Pat O'Brien ran as a

participants in the Green Independent campaign promoted it as one part of a "two-prong strategy" in conjunction with the conservation movement:

> Firstly, a small number of Green Independent candidates will campaign on issues of human and environmental concern. Secondly, in marginal electorates, a Green Challenge campaign will be made, requesting all political parties to respond to an environmental Log of Claims. On the basis of their responses, we will recommend voting preferences.[108]

These campaign initiatives signalled the endeavour to form alignments with yet another constituency, this time a more overtly green one, although again, a movement committed to conventional political activity.

## THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT

Like the residents movement, the conservation movement had a stake in seeing the reform agenda of a new Labor Party Government implemented. This section addresses the hopes of the conservation movement, and subsequent disenchantment, with the reform process of the new Queensland Labor Party Government for achieving their environmental project. The environmental project of the conservation movement involved promoting institutional reform to achieve the reconciliation of development and nature preservation concerns, in a political climate dominated by economic concerns. What was advocated was a democratically-based managerial approach in which long term planning, coordination, and consultation with the community, was facilitated. This section addresses the criticisms of the reform process by the conservation movement, and the apparent recurrence of political closure which had plagued the conservation movement prior to the election of the seemingly more sympathetic Queensland Labor Government. This section also addresses the reasons for these developments, with reference to the reform process as part of the restructuring of the liberal state.

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Green Independent with Drew Hutton in Broadsound - see Rainbow Alliance. *Minutes 10/9/89* Author's collection. 1989.

[108] Green Independents Campaign. "I am writing to seek your financial help". [c.1989].

**the new Labor Government and hope for conservation**

Over the 1980s the conservation movement had supported a series of reforms dedicated to ending the adversarial scenario between pro-development and anti-development forces, through institutional change which enabled the reconciliation of development with conservation outcomes. The conservation movement was dependent upon a sympathetic state government to initiate this institutional change process. Thus the electoral success of the Labor Party in the 1989 state elections was a significant time for the conservation movement. The Queensland Labor Party had shown itself to be sympathetic to the proposals of the conservation movement, in comparison with the other major parties. This sympathy was documented through the responses of the major parties to the Log of Claims.[109] The conservation movement had supported the Queensland Labor Party, in hope that they would become the government and initiate the sought reforms.

Support for the Labor Party by the conservation movement was also linked to the agreement by the Labor Party to support the reform process of the Fitzgerald Inquiry, and to stand by its recommendations and those of the Electoral and Administration Reform Commission (EARC).[110] The Fitzgerald Inquiry was instituted in response to government corruption and civil liberties issues, and so was primarily concerned with democratic and accountability issues. Civil liberties issues had dominated Queensland protest politics on a number of grounds: a politicised police force, the electoral gerrymander, and suppression of civil liberties, in particular street march legislation. Repression of political dissent under the Nationals continued through legislation which undermined civil liberties enjoyed by most Australian citizens in other states. Public dissent had also been raised about secret government deals with developers, and general government accountability issues.[111] Civil liberties conflicts continued to flourish in the early 1980s. Several organisations emerged, notably the Citizens For Democracy and Queensland Coalition for Democratic Rights, which

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[109] See Chapter Three: Reconciling Development and Nature Preservation.

[110] Bron Stevens, Bron and John Wanna. The Goss Government: an agenda for reform. Bron Stevens and John Wanna. eds. *The Goss Government*. Centre for Australian Public Sector Management. Macmillan. 1993.

[111] See Chapter Three: Political Economy and Queensland Government, for the link between suppression of civil liberties of development strategy of the Queensland National Party.

endeavoured to topple the National government during the 1986 election.[112] Initiated at what was to become the final period of the long reign of the National Government, the Inquiry was spurred on by community demands for more open and accountable government. By the late 1980s the National Party had antagonised the Queensland electorate beyond its capacity to retain government. In spite of the gerrymandered electoral system, they lost Government to the Labor Party.

With the election of the Labor Government in 1989 and their promise to support the Fitzgerald recommendations, the opportunity increased for the implementation of the environmental reforms of the conservation movement. One of the issues taken up by the Inquiry was the conflict over the future of Fraser Island, the most fierce and longest running dispute in Queensland. The Commission of Inquiry into the Conservation, Management and Use of Fraser Island and the Great Sandy Region 1990, directly addressed this dispute by proposing recommendations, and also used this particular case to make more general recommendations for reform.[113]

The principle general recommendations arising from the Commission of Inquiry into the Conservation, Management and Use of Fraser Island and the Great Sandy Region 1990, were policies to integrate economic, social and environmental factors regarding development and community education; a state strategic plan; public access to a land and resource information base; impact assessment legislation; funding to community groups to participate in policy formulation and decision-making processes subject to certain conditions; and an advisory board for coordination by the Premiers Department of Office of the Cabinet to coordinate departments and agencies.[114] Moreover, a central recommendation involved environmental dispute resolution and decision-making in Queensland. According to Woodyatt the recommendations stated that:

> policies should be formulated integrating economic, social and environmental values

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[112] See Chapter Five: The Demise of the Green Party.

[113] Tony Woodyatt. The Fitzgerald Report - Terms of Reference III. Australian Conservation Foundation. *Resolving the Real Conflicts. A Community Summit for Environmental Dispute Resolution*. Brisbane. 17 February. 1991. p.1.

[114] Tony Woodyatt. 1991. "The Fitzgerald Report." pp.1-6.

> in association with systems development and community education; a State strategic plan should be developed; the Department of Housing and Local Government should coordinate and supervise preparation of regional plans; a land and resource base should be developed permitting public access; impact assessment legislation should be enacted; the Premier's Department of Office of the Cabinet should co-ordinate departments and agencies; an advisory board should be appointed; funding should be provided to community organisations to participate in policy formulation and decision-making subject to certain decisions.[115]

The Fitzgerald Inquiry recommendations reflected to a large degree the proposals of the conservation movement, and so seemed to be a promising development for them.[116] These recommendations appeared to address their concerns about coordination and planning, community consultation, government secrecy, and promoted the legitimation of environmental concerns into the development agenda of the state.

Claiming to be committed to the Fitzgerald recommendations, the Labor Party began to implement various forums for planning, conflict resolution and community participation, to deal with the long term conflict between development and environmental considerations. In first couple of years in office, the Labor Government embarked on a range of reforms. By the early 1990s the conservation movement had recognised that some immediate promises had been kept, specifying policies such as initiatives in waste management and recycling, water quality monitoring program, and air, water and noise pollution; mineral resources and heritage protection; the large increase in National Park Estate; legislation reform in local government and planning; an increased in Department of Environment budget, initiation of State of the Environment Reports and a state conservation strategy, and the reinstatement of the Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service; the maintenance of anti-uranium and anti-nuclear policy; and stopping the National Party's opposition to World Heritage Listing for the Wet Tropics Forest and establishment of joint federal-state management for Wet

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[115] Tony Woodyatt. "Fitzgerald's great flop." *Legal Service Bulletin*. vol.16. no.4. 1991. p.178.

[116] These proposals were outlined in Queensland Conservation Movement. *Time's Running Out. A Conservation Policy for Queensland*. Brisbane. 1986, and *Green Challenge. A Log of Claims. Presented to Queensland's Political Parties by the Environmental Movement in Queensland. October 1989*, in preparation for 1989 Queensland state election campaign.

Tropical Forests.[117]

However, within a year of their election the Labor Government was under fire from the conservation movement over their performance on a number of issues. This involved not only the seemingly continuing problem of secret government, but also the apparent failures to move towards their purported environmental goals.

**disenchantment with the Labor Government**

The concern expressed by the conservation movement about the environmental performance of the Labor Government initially surfaced in relation to Labor's first major undertaking - Fitzgerald Inquiry's recommendations for Fraser Island. A range of submissions had been produced by the Joint Groups comprising the Australian Conservation Foundation, Australian Littoral Society, Fraser Island Defender's Association, Queensland Conservation Council, Rainforest Conservation Society, Wildlife Preservation Society and the Wilderness Society.[118] The Queensland Government Inquiry was criticised on a number of grounds, particularly the failure to adhere to all the Fitzgerald Inquiry recommendations. One issue of concern to the conservation movement was the refusal by the Government to provide funding for conservation groups, thus restricting their contribution of specialised information. A second issue was the resistance by the Government to the release of key documents submitted by the Primary Industries Queensland Forest Service. A third issue was the reactive public participation process where proposals were not tested but simply put up for rejection or acceptance. These contravened the intentions of the Fitzgerald recommendations.[119]

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[117] *Commission of Inquiry into the Conservation, Management and Use of Fraser Island and the Great Sandy Region and the Cabinet Office of New South Wales. Public Issue Dispute Resolution. A Joint Discussion Paper.* Queensland and New South Wales. December. 1990, and Adrian Jeffreys. "The Goss Government and the Environment. An Unresolved Dispute." *Resolving the Real Conflicts. A Community Summit for Environmental Dispute Resolution.* Public Issues Dispute Conference. July. 1991.

[118] "Fraser Island". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter.* vol.11. no.2. 1990. p.3.

[119] Adrian Jeffreys. "The Goss Government and the environment. An unresolved dispute." *Resolving the REAL Conflicts. A Community Summit for Environmental Dispute Resolution.* 17 February. Brisbane. 1991.

Another Fitzgerald Inquiry recommendation had been that during the conflict resolution process regarding the future of Fraser Island, logging was to be stopped, mining leases ended, and some of the Island listed as a World Heritage Area. However, in spite of criticism from the conservation movement, the Queensland Government laid the condition that logging was a non-negotiable issue - consequently, logging on Fraser Island continued through the Inquiry process.[120] According to the Co-ordinator of the Queensland Conservation Council:

> The major lessons to be learnt from our involvement with this inquiry are the real need for a moratorium on activity in areas under dispute and the necessity for resourcing. The state government has in effect funded the pro-logging and pro-sand mining arguments through major submissions to the relevant departments. We were the only groups to analyse these submissions and put forward arguments against logging and sandmining.[121]

The Wilderness Society withdrew from the Inquiry process in protest, and joined the Rainforest Action Group in a blockade at the logging site.[122] The same problem emerged during the conflict about the Tully Millstream Dam. Construction continued during the investigation in spite of undertakings by the Queensland Labor Government that this would not be the case.[123]

There was also criticism from the conservation movement over the Queensland Government's unfulfilled commitment to co-operation with the Federal Government's conservation strategy. The previous National Party Government had refused to co-operate. However the Queensland Labor Party had made an election promise to do so. The Labor Government had commissioned a report, *Towards a Queensland Conservation Strategy. Facing the Issues*, produced by the Department of Environment and Heritage in 1990. It was based upon the Federal Government Document *National Conservation Strategy for Australia*, itself based on

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[120] Adrian Jeffreys. "The Goss Government and the environment." 1991.

[121] Rosey Crisp. "QCC Co-ordinator reviews conservation in 1991." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.12. no.2. 1991. p.1.

[122] "Fraser Island." 1990. p.3.

[123] These concerns were raised in a letter from Rosey Crisp on behalf of the Queensland Conservation Council, to the Queensland Premier, dated 24 November 1990, and also in Rosey Crisp. "Tully Dam debate continues." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. (temporarily jointly published with Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland) vol.11. no.4. 1990. p.10.

the *World Conservation Strategy*.[124] The aim of *Towards a Queensland Conservation Strategy. Facing the Issues* was to achieve sustainable development terms of:

> international concern over population growth, environmental degradation and the rate of living resource depletion [which] prompted the preparation of the *World Conservation Strategy* ... [in which] the WCS identifies living resource conservation as vital to the continued survival and well-being of the human population.[125]

However there were claims that this strategy was largely ignored by significant government departments. Hunt, for instance, claims that:

> While the conservation-oriented arms of the state government have embraced ESD concepts, there is little evidence that other departments, particularly economic or development departments, have incorporated ESD principles.[126]

There were other complaints made by the conservation movement over unfulfilled promises, amongst these, the implementation of an Environmental Protection Agency, legislation on pollution control and environmental protection, standard environmental impact legislation.[127] Specific issues included the failures to protect the Byfield area on the Queensland Coast[128] and to sufficiently involve the Aboriginal and Island people in land-use decision-making as agreed in the Log of Claims.[129] In 1993 the Queensland Conservation Council claimed that the Labor Party had only implemented 34.7% of their Environmental Log of Claims,[130] the basis upon which they had been electorally supported in the 1989

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[124] Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage. *Towards a Queensland Conservation Strategy. Facing the Issues*. Brisbane. 1990, Department of Home Affairs and the Environment. *A National Conservation Strategy for Australia*. Australian Government Publishing Service. Canberra. 1983, and International Union for Conservation of Nature, World Wildlife Fund, and United Nations Environmental Program. *World Conservation Strategy*. 1980. For background to the connection between the *World Conservation Strategy* and *A National Conservation Strategy for Australia*, see Moffat "The evolution of the sustainable development concept". pp.27-42.

[125] Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage. *Towards a Queensland Conservation Strategy. Facing the Issues*. 1990. p.10.

[126] Colin Hunt. "Goss IS Greener - but to a Queensland Government - growth is more important than Ecologically Sustainable Development." *Social Alternatives*. vol.11. no.2. 1992. p.37.

[127] Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh. "Evaluating performance on the environment." Bron Stevens and John Wanna. eds. *The Goss Government*. Centre for Australian Public Sector Management. Macmillan. 1993. p.260.

[128] Many greens were concerned over lack of protection for Byfield. See *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. September. vol.12. no.3. 1990. p.12.

[129] Letter from Queensland Conservation Council, Australian Conservation Foundation, Wilderness Society, and Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland, to the Minister for Environment and Heritage, dated 20 August 1990.

[130] O'Faircheallaigh. "Evaluating performance on the environment." 1993. p.248.

campaigns.

Of particular significance to the conservation movement was the failure of the new Labor Government to implement the Fitzgerald recommendation for the introduction of open standing for community groups such as the conservation movement. Open standing had been advocated by the conservation movement. It referred to community and individual rights to initiate legal action over breaches of legislation or to compel governments to fulfil its legal requirements.[131] Achieving legislation for open standing was crucial to the conservation movement's concerns to ensure that the community had some recourse against the government if they broke their promises. The failure to implement open standing legislation was largely the result of lobbying by some industry groups who were opposed to it.[132] The conservation movement launched a Know Your Rights, Demand Your Rights campaign to promote third party rights. In support of the campaign Jeffreys stated that this reform was:

> opposed by industry groups and government departments ... who aren't committed to new legislation and want to prevent people from insisting it is enforced.[133]

There had been much disappointment with outcomes and the processes of the dispute resolution conference. While the Conondales conflict resolution was heralded as a success[134] there were others which were seen as disappointing. There was criticism that consultation had been inadequate at crucial times, such as the role of the Task Force in determining the proposed siting of a hydro-electric scheme on Tully Millstream. The Task Force excluded public involvement in establishing the Terms of Reference. This was a particularly crucial issue from the conservation movement's point of view. They were more concerned about the disputing the necessity for the dam, rather than its siting at either of the proposed locations. They thought that a more environmentally sound energy policy to deal with the anticipated new demands for energy could obviate the necessity for damming the

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[131] O'Faircheallaigh. "Evaluating performance on the environment." 1993. p.265, and "Open standing and public interest litigation." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.13. no.2. 1992. p.12.

[132] O'Faircheallaigh. "Evaluating performance on the environment." 1993. p.266.

[133] Adrian Jeffreys. "Queensland's environment needs the Nature Conservation Act." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.13. no.2. 1992. pp.4-5.

[134] "Conondale extensions finalised." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.12. no.4. 1991. p.1.

Tully Millstream.[135] Commenting on the Government's commitment to open decision-making processes:

> Not only is the way in which we use the environment coming under scrutiny, but also the way in which we make decisions about its use. However the process by which this is determined sometimes leaves a lot to be desired. Ridiculous dead-lines, secretive methods, the imposition of terms of reference without consultation, and changing the rules on the run have been features of many of the inquiries and calls for consultation initiated by the State Government.[136]

These issues were highlighted by criticism over the process to establish dispute resolution processes. In response to their problems with the processes, the Queensland branch of the Australian Conservation Foundation sponsored a conference, Resolving the REAL Conflicts. A Community Summit for Environmental Dispute Resolution, in Brisbane 17 February 1991. It was convened as a protest against, and an alternative to, the Disputes Resolution Conference scheduled for the next day, a national conference convened by the Queensland government on Public Issue Dispute Resolution. There were claims that the aim of the Government conference was to exclude the community, which was characterised as already having too much power:

> to minimise the disproportionate influence of organised pressure groups ... that take advantage of opportunities .... in the pursuit of personal objectives,[137]

and that they were in favour of "managing conflicts" rather than addressing them. The conservation movement proposed that an end to conflict may be an indication of good dispute resolution but may also signal "repression" and "dictatorship".[138]

This position was supported by the Executive Director of Australian Conservation Foundation, who also addressed the unofficial conference. Of the official conference he stated that:

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[135] "QCC makes submission to QEC on Tully-Millstream dam." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter.* vol.12. no.1. 1991. p.1.

[136] Adrian Jeffreys. "Is existing environmental decision-making good enough?" *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter.* vol.11. no.4. 1991. p.14. In this article, Jeffreys also points out some strengths.

[137] Mark Horstman. "Introduction." *Resolving the Real Conflicts. A Community Summit for Environmental Dispute Resolution.* Brisbane. 17 February. 1991.

[138] The conflict resolution about the fate of the Conondales Ranges was considered successful by the conservation movement - "Editorial." *Eco Echo.* September. 1991. p.2.

> a two-day national conference on public dispute resolution, without involving the public and thus it becomes the latest attempt at suppressing conflict.[139]

He further commented that state and federal governments still sought "mediation" and "balance", that is, trade-offs of environment against growth, rather than seeking integration which is what the conservationists sought. To attain this, the process needed to involve those "without vested interests", that is, the community.[140] In support of this position Horstman stated that:

> the meeting sent a clear message to government and business that extensive community involvement within a framework of ecologically sustainable development were essential preconditions for successful resolution of environmental disputes.[141]

There were claims that the Goss Government still viewed environmental issues as a restraints upon growth. Commenting upon the meaning of sustainability, a prominent Queensland conservationist stated that sustainability should "emphasise that the environment is the imperative in determining exactly what is sustainable".[142] It was proposed that one means used by the Government to enforce its own agenda was through loading tough decisions onto inquiries, and thus to overburden the conservation organisations. In 1990 conservation groups had participated in nearly 30 major inquiries, most significantly the Fraser Island Inquiry. However, there was insufficient time, resources, and money to carry out the necessary work:

> a growing number of people had been so disillusioned with interminable submission writing and committee sitting that they viewed these committees simply as a ruse to keep them from making much needed reforms.[143]

Moreover funding for resourcing submission research and writing was still less readily available that in many other states.[144] Thus the opportunities had not made their work

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[139] Phillip Toyne. "Resolving the Real Conflicts." *Resolving the Real Conflicts. A Community Summit for Environmental Dispute Resolution*. Brisbane. 17 February. 1991.

[140] Phillip Toyne. "Resolving the Real Conflicts." 1991.

[141] Mark Horstman. "Introduction." 1991.

[142] Mark Horstman (Queensland Conservation Council Campaign Co-ordinator). in *Healthy Cities Newsletter. Special Edition*. [c.March-April] 1991. p.5.

[143] Adrian Jeffreys. "Review of Goss Labor Governments Environmental Record." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.12. no.2. 1991. p.6, and Peter McAdam. "Former QCC Chairperson reflects on year for conservation." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.12. no.3. 1991. p.1.

[144] Rosey Crisp. "QCC Coordinator reviews conservation in 1991." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.12. no.2. 1991. p.1.

easier, but more difficult in terms of the amount of work.

These criticisms continued well into the second term of office of the Queensland Labor Government. Again, according to the Co-ordinator of the Queensland Conservation Council:

> It seems the 'development at any cost' attitude of overt pandering to strong vested interests of the previous government has been inherited by the Goss Government ... QCC is not asserting that positive changes for the environment have not occurred during the 1990s. But they have often been the easy options. Attempts have been made on some key reform areas such as land use planning, but compromises on compromises are leading to regional plans without statutory backing or a body to implement it ... It is time the environment groups and the State government began discussions anew. The process for developing and implementing an environment reform package should be the basis for the discussions. Conflict on an ad-hoc basis is self defeating. The sound protection and management of our environment will lead to less conflict as community involvement and checks and balances will be built into land use decision making processes.[145]

Horstman also criticised the role of vested interests and claimed it was necessary to include those without them - that is, the community - on the basis that some conflicts were not amenable to a win-win outcomes and that the environment must sometimes be given priority.[146]

Therefore, despite the better performance on environmental issues by the new Labor Government:

> There was considerable disquiet in the State's conservation movement about the commitment of the Goss Government to ecological sustainability and relations between the two had sometimes been strained .... many groups were suggesting that attempts to cooperate had failed and were calling for a return to the old and trusted head-kicking methods and street-fighting tactics the characterised the Bjelke-Peterson years.[147]

**the real reform agenda of the Labor Government**

Prior to winning the Queensland Government, the Labor Party claimed to be committed to

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[145] Rosey Crisp. "The Goss Government - is it losing its gloss?" *Eco Sphere*. vol.14. no.2. 1993. p.1-2.

[146] Horstman. "Introduction." 1991.

[147] Adrian Jeffreys. "Review of Goss Labor Governments Environmental Record." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.12. no.2. 1991. p.6.

up-holding the Fitzgerald recommendations. However the Labor Party had a prior, and more important, commitment to a different agenda of reform, similar to Labor policy in other states. They were concerned with addressing legitimation and accumulation issues, thus their reform agenda was about the restructuring the liberal state.[148] Fortunately for the Labor Party, the reform process advocated by the Fitzgerald Inquiry and many community groups coincided to a significant degree with their own. Accordingly, the Fitzgerald Inquiry and Electoral and Administration Reform Commission recommendations presented an opportunity to proceed with their own reform agenda.

The political economy of Queensland can largely account for the concern about accumulation issues by the Queensland Labor Party. Over the 1980s the Queensland economy had been dramatically affected by the global economic downturn and subsequent international economic restructuring. While comparatively prosperous in relation to the traditionally manufacturing states, it nonetheless suffered from the effects of the recession and accompanying restructuring. Moreover massive demographic shifts had heightened both the need for urban development management[149] and also economic management to accommodate the in-flowing population.[150] Thus infrastructure for development and urbanisation saw issues of power supply, transport, and water becoming more prominent.

The long history of a dependent economy contributed to the continuation of external determinants of the Queensland economy, particularly in primary industry and tourism. While agricultural industries suffered mixed fortunes, minerals sands were becoming more

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[148] The previous National Party Premier, Ahern, also had aspirations in this direction following the loss of the leadership by Bjelke-Peterson. However, he did not have strong support from his party and then the corruption issues lost them the election. Meanwhile the Labor Party produced *Making Government Work* which went further than Ahern's attempts - these developments are discussed in Glyn Davis. "Executive and policy co-ordination." Bron Stevens and John Wanna. eds. *The Goss Government*. Centre for Australian Public Sector Management. Macmillan. 1991. pp.34-35, Andrew Hede. "Managerial and equity reform of the public sector." Bron Stevens and John Wanna. eds. *The Goss Government*. Centre for Australian Public Sector Management. Macmillan. 1993. p.87. For details of the reforms introduced by the Labor Party, see Bron Stevens and John Wanna. eds. *The Goss Government*. Centre for Australian Public Sector Management. Macmillan. 1993.

[149] See Chapter Five: Supporting Popular Urban Struggles.

[150] The population expansion was not, however, bringing much money into the state. Most of the population expansion resulted from the migration of job-seekers or retirees from the southern states - see Paul Boreham, Geoff Dow, Craig Littler and Randal Stewart. *Society and Economy in Queensland. The Strategic Role of the Public Sector*. Labour and Industry Research Unit. Brisbane. 1988. pp.14-6.

significant to the new technological advances.[151] However, two other industrial sectors were also promoted by the National and then the Labor Governments: tourism and the 'high-tech' service sector. The high tech service sector had not been particularly successful in spite of attempts by the National Government to promote it, mainly because of public dissent over mooted projects, particularly the space port in Cape York, and the multi-function polis.[152] There was also the project connected with the multi-function polis, that of a servicing role to the Pacific basin particularly in education and health.[153] The tourism industry, on the other hand, had boomed and continued to do so. This had already begun in the 1960s, particularly in the Gold Coast area.[154] Over the 1980s tourism had become a significant industry, in competition with other states and nations for the overseas tourist market. By 1987, Queensland Tourism and Trade Corporation had more than doubled its turn-over.[155]

The management of the economy through restructuring was aimed at maintaining conditions for growth and dealing with accumulation issues, principally employment and economic growth. The Federal Government had already begun this management reform process within the auspices of its federal powers and responsibilities. One factor in federal restructuring was the incorporation of business and union representation into the policy making process.[156] In Queensland, there was already a long history of the business-state nexus. Better economic management involved institutionalising, and legitimising this relationship. This strategy was

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[151] David Mercer. *A Question of Balance. Natural Resource Conflict Issues in Australia*. The Federation Press. Sydney. 1991. pp.241-42.

[152] The space port proposal mooted for Cape York was to capitalise upon the large open spaces of Cape York - see Laurel Fox Allen. "Australia's race for space." *Australian Business*. vol.7. no.23. 1987. pp.51-5. The multi-function polis proposal also was aborted. The plan was to build a high-technology city between the Gold Coast and Brisbane, as an enclave for research and development, and industrial development. This plan generated large-scale public protest which discouraged the investors. For background to the multi-function polis, see William H. Coaldrake. "Multifunction polis: a new horizon in Australia's foreign relations". *Australian Outlook*. vol.43. no.2. pp.74-81, and Peter Ward. "Japan plans our brave new utopia - The Global Infrastructure Project." *The Australian*. 17 April. 1989. p.11.

[153] For a full exposition of this strategy see Wayne Goss. "Closer economic relations with Asia: the Queensland Case." *The Future Pacific Economic Order: Australia's Role*. 1993. pp.1-5.

[154] See Chapter Three: Development as a Precipitating Factor.

[155] Paul Boreham et al. *Society and Economy in Queensland*. 1988. p.11.

[156] See P. Ewer and W. Higgins. "Industry policy under the Accord: Reform versus traditionalism in economic management." *Politics*. vol.21. no.1. 1985. pp.28-39.

begun by the Atkinson Liberal Brisbane City Council in 1985, for instance in the Economic Development Steering Committee and the attempt to restructure Brisbane as a profit-making corporation.[157]

The new Queensland Labor Government endeavoured to improve the state's economic performance. However, it had not anticipated implementing a radically different economic agenda:

> Labor did not promise a new economic agenda at the 1989 election. The party was careful to appease existing business interests and distancing itself from the financial mismanagement of other state Labor Governments.[158]

The restructuring of the Office of the Cabinet beginning July 1991 initially saw the formation of six policy units, in relation to policy planning, economic, social, legal and administrative, women's and rural communities.[159] The objectives of the Economic Policy Unit included "incorporating community perspectives" and facilitating consultation with industry on a range of development and reform issues.[160] Regional planning was also emphasised. These regional planning directions also included local government reform to expand the role of local government in the provision of services and in economic development, as well as to co-ordinate economic planning across local government boundaries:

> The planning approach being taken by the Queensland Government recognises that many of the issues associated with growth management cross local authority boundaries and can only be addressed on a regional basis.[161]

Accordingly, regional development plans and local government reform was principally concerned with development and related issues.

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[157] Ric Graf. "An economic strategy for the city of Brisbane." *Australian Urban Studies*. vol.13. no.6. 1986. pp.11-12. page 11 and "The New Corporate Brisbane." *Courier Mail*. Brisbane. 27 September 1988. p.17.

[158] Neal Ryan. "Economic and industrial development policy." Bron Stevens and John Wanna (eds). *The Goss Government*. Centre for Australian Public Sector Management. Macmillan 1993. p.173.

[159] Queensland Government. *Office of the Cabinet. 1992. Annual Report 1991-92*. October. Brisbane. 1992.

[160] Queensland Government. *Office of the Cabinet. 1992. Annual Report 1991-92*. October. Brisbane. 1992. pp.8-9, and Queensland Government. *Office of the Cabinet. 1993. Annual Report 1991-92*. September. Brisbane. 1992. pp.5-6.

[161] Queensland Department of Housing and local Government and Planning. *Annual Report 1991-92*. Brisbane. 1992. p.47.

In 1992 a further restructuring of the Office of the Cabinet saw the formation of the Environment and Land-Use Planning Unit.[162] The aim of this Unit was to:

> provide informed and timely advice to the Premier on environment, land-use and planning issues; provide strategic support to the Planning and Infrastructure Co-ordination Committee of Cabinet; and facilitate a whole-of-government approach to national and land-use issues.[163]

This Unit was also to co-ordinate the state's involvement in the Ecologically Sustainable Development and National Greenhouse Response Strategies.[164] A range of planning forums beginning with the South East Queensland 2001 were established, for planning in this region. The Unit claimed to have made links with "government, conservation, and business groups with an interest in environment, land-use and planning issues".[165] While the conservation movement was considered to have a role to play in this era of planning, it was not considered relevant to the economic policy unit. Thus the conservationists were allowed only incomplete means for influencing development and related policy.

**sustainable development: the dominant strategy**

The environmental agenda of the Queensland Government was not the same as for the conservation movement. The Queensland Government's environmental agenda reflected the dominant strategy, referring to the institutional reforms established by governments aimed at overcoming the apparent environmental limits to sustained economic growth. According to Beder concerns expressed in the early 1970s that environmental limits would prevent sustained economic growth had been replaced in the 1980s with attempts to transcend these apparent limits.[166]

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[162] Queensland Government. *Office of the Cabinet. 1993. Annual Report 1992-93*. September. Brisbane. 1993.

[163] Queensland Government. *Office of the Cabinet. 1993. Annual Report 1992-93*. Brisbane. September. 1993. p.7.

[164] Queensland Government. *Office of the Cabinet. 1993. Annual Report 1992-93*. September. Brisbane. 1993. p.7.

[165] Queensland Government. *Office of the Cabinet. 1993. Annual Report 1992-93*. September. Brisbane. 1993. p.7.

[166] Sharon Beder. *The Nature of Sustainable Development*. Scribe Publications. Newham, Australia. 1993.

Following the publication of *Limits to Growth* in 1972,[167] concern about seeming environmental limits was translated into strategies for governments, fuelled by their domestic economic concerns.[168] The most significant articulation of, and program for action around, the seemingly problematic relationship between the environment and development, was represented by the *World Conservation Strategy*. It effectively become the dominant strategy, with 40 nations basing their ecologically sustainable development programs upon it.[169] This strategy represents a technocratic approach to managing environmental limits in the interest of accumulation. The environmental agenda was based on an appreciation of the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes in which the environment was seen as a limiting factor to growth.

Various Management Strategies such as for the Barrier Reef had been implemented by the Federal Labor Government, involving conservation movement representation to some degree, and in cooperation with the states.[170] For the Queensland Government, the effects of environmental degradation were also considered a hindrance to economic performance, particularly for an economy based in primary industries. Issues such as forestry, soil and land

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[167] Meadows et al. *Limits to Growth. A Report for the Club of Rome*. 1972. In this thesis, *Limits to Growth* is categorised as part of the dominant strategy in that the central concern is the maintenance of economic growth. On this basis it has been distinguished from the doomsdayers whose central concern is fears of environmental catastrophe. Papadakis, on the other hand, categorises *Limits to Growth* with the doomsdayers, referring to them as catastrophists. He distinguishes this group from the cornucopians who believe that technological and social change will overcome the apparent limits to nature. He also notes that contemporary cornucopians "wish to defend the capitalist economy against the assault by the catastrophists" - Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. p.79.

[168] For instance, in 1972 the United Nations Conference also established various Commissions, including later the World Commission on Environment and Development. Other organisations such as the International Union for Conservation of Nature and the World Wildlife Fund also promoted strategies. In 1980 in United States the *Global 2000* project was developed under the Carter administration. In 1982 the *Conservation and Development Program* for the United Kingdom was developed for the British Government in response to the *Global 2000*. Following this was Pearce, D.W., Anil Markandya and E.B. Barbier. *Pearce Report: Blueprint for a Green Economy*. Earthscan Publishings. London. 1989.

[169] Ian Moffat. "The evolution of the sustainable development concept: a perspective of Australia." *Australian Geographical Studies*. vol.30. no.1. 1992. p.32. The Federal Liberal administration under Fraser had shown interest in implementing proposals from the World Conservation Strategy. However the new Federal Labor administration under Hawke convened the first conference to develop a national conservation strategy - Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. pp.120-21.

[170] Cooperation by the state governments was necessary, as the Australian federal government does not have explicit Constitutional powers over environment and resources. Federal governments rely upon indirect means to enforce environmental policy, and cooperation with state governments - see, for instance, John Formby. "Environmental policies in Australia - Climbing the down escalator". Chris C. Park. ed. *Environmental Policies: An International Review*. Croom Helm. Sydney. 1986.

quality, and mining issues, gained prominence as did biodiversity, and urban development with all its environmental and social implications. Accordingly, some of the environmental policies were Wet Tropics, Coastal Management, Integrated Catchment Management, Cape York Management, Fraser Island Inquiry and strategic plans for the Great Barrier Reef and Great Keppel Island, and the Conondales. For instance, the introduction of the brochure promoting the Landcare strategy states:

> The land resources of Queensland provide the basis for primary production - the major form of land use and a key driving sector of the State's economy. The future economic viability of rural and urban communities, and the supply of food and fibre to local and export markets, depend on the maintenance of the land in a productive condition.[171]

The Integrated Catchment Management strategy begins with the statement that:

> The ability of our land and water resources to meet our needs in the future is being threatened by continuing degradation and increasing demands on these resources for a range of uses.[172]

The Summary proceeds by establishing how "sustaining land, water and life" might be achieved, and that to this end, "a balance between economic development and conservation of land and water resources must be maintained".[173] The Queensland Government report on the environment for 1990 privileges economic impacts of environmental degradation over other considerations.[174] Thus, for pragmatic reasons the Governments have found it necessary to take on board an environmental agenda in support of their concerns about accumulation. Economic management therefore included managing resource degradation as part of its role of maintaining conditions for growth.

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[171] Queensland Government. *Landcare. A Strategy for Achieving Sustainable Primary Production and a Balanced Ecosystem for Queensland. Brisbane*. Brisbane. August. 1989.

[172] Queensland Government. "Why integrated Catchment Management?" *Summary. Integrated Catchment Management. A Strategy for Achieving the Sustainable and Balanced use of Land, Water and Related Biological Resources*. 1991. Brisbane. p.2.

[173] Queensland Government. "Sustaining land, water and life". *Summary. Integrated Catchment Management. A Strategy for Achieving the Sustainable and Balanced use of Land, Water and Related Biological Resources*. 1991. Brisbane. p.2.

[174] On the first page of this report, land degradation was mentioned as the first environmental issue, with reference to the amount of farming land adversely affected by soil erosion - see Queensland Government. *Environment. Greening Queensland*. Budget Related Paper No.3. Brisbane. 1990. p.1.

In Australia, the private sector and governments had a common interest in this problem of the apparent limiting effect of the environment upon growth. In particular the Australian Mining Industry Council and the Business Council of Australia showed keen interest. Their concerns had clearly moved from the environmentalism of pollution control of the 1970s to those of natural resources and their continuing availability, improved management and technological change. For instance the *Mining Review*, the publication of the Australian Mining Industry Council, contained articles expressing concern about sustainable development.[175] The Australian Mining Industry Council also claimed to be a prime initiator in bringing "sustainable development onto the public agenda in Australia".[176] Mining industry conferences also reflected this concern, for instance, the paper presented on "resources for sustainable development".[177] The cover story of the September 1986 edition of the *Australian Timber Worker* refers to the World Conservation Strategy in defence of the legitimacy of the industry's continued operation. National Engineering Conferences for several years contained papers on sustainable development issues, as have economists publications.[178] The Australian Business Council also indicated interest in sustainable development issues since the late 1980s. In July 199O the Business Council of Australia published a sustainable development strategy, *Achieving Sustainable Development. A*

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[175] For instance, Brian Loton. "Sustainable development: a mining review." *Mining Review*. November. 1989. pp.15-20.

[176] In 1988 the Australian Mining Industry Council invited the Secretary-General of the World Commission on Environment and Development to Australia to speak about sustainable development - see Australian Mining Industry Council. "How sustainable development came to Australia". *ESD Newsbrief*. July. no.2. 1991. p.7. Interestingly, the conservation movement saw themselves as the prime initiator, claiming that their recent 'successes' in 1989 had encouraged interest amongst industry groups in finding a "'balance' between conservation and industrial development" - "ESD: How it all started." Australian Conservation Foundation and World Wide Fund for Nature Australia. *Ecologically Sustainable Development. Information Kit*. [produced by the ACF-WWF Ecologically Sustainable Development Policy and Liaison Units] 1991.

[177] R.W.R. Rutland. "Minerals: resources for sustainable development. Australia: ready or not?" *Australian Mining Industry Council Annual Seminar*. Canberra. May. 1990.

[178] For instance, see Ian Thomas and G.P. Codner. "Engineering for sustainable development: a policy." *Planning for Environmental Change. National Engineering Conference*. Sydney. 20-22 March. 1989 and G.G. Kelliher and B. Jennison. "Implementing the National Conservation Strategy for Australia. Transactions of the Institution of Engineers. Australia." *Multi Disciplinary Engineering*. vol.11. no.2. 1987. pp.70-74. Also see Ian Willis. "The ecologically sustainable development process: an interim assessment." *Economics*. March. vol.28. no.4. 1992. pp.21-26.

*Practical Framework*.[179]

The support of industry interests for addressing the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes was couched in terms of sustainable development: that is, how to continue their industries without undermining their future capacity to operate by destroying the resource base.[180] State agencies and departments were also geared to supporting industry. Some had been initially established for that purpose, and so had strong links with various industrial lobbies. Thus structured into their mission was the continuation of growth of the industry.[181] For these purposes the *National Conservation Strategy for Australia* was developed, based on the dominant strategy of the World Conservation Strategy. The division of powers in Australian necessitated state cooperation to enact the national strategy, which was not always forthcoming.[182]

Thus, the Queensland Government was concerned with a reform agenda for management, with a priority on enhancing and facilitating economic performance. The government reform program reflected the technocratic management of the economy to enhance accumulation. The government and industry interests saw conservation as the management of resources to facilitate growth. To the conservation movement, on the other hand, conservation was predicated upon recognition of the intrinsic worth of nature. From this perspective management referred to planning policy to enable the natural environment to flourish. They sought the inclusion of the intrinsic value of nature into development policy, and even pro-

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[179] See, for instance, Stan Wallis. "The environment debate." *Business Council Bulletin*. November. 1989. pp.10-13, and Charles Allen. "Biological diversity: a business perspective." *Business Council Bulletin*. April. no.85. 1992. pp.38-40. Also see Business Council of Australia. *Achieving Sustainable Development: A Practical Framework*. [discussion paper, a contribution to sustainable development in Australia] July. 1990. Papadakis discusses the industry position on sustainable development, with particular attention to the Business Council of Australia and the mining lobby - Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. pp.86-92.

[180] See United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations. *Criteria for Sustainable Development Management*. New York. Economic and Social Council of United Nations commissioned this Report from July 1989 session. 1990, and Business Council of Australia. *Achieving Sustainable Development: A Practical Framework*. [discussion paper, a contribution to sustainable development in Australia] July. 1991.

[181] See, for instance, Department of Forestry. *Caring for our Forests... A Tradition of Forest Conservancy*. Brisbane. 1990.

[182] As Moffat points out, the states had various responses the initiatives of the Federal Government with respect to the adoption of the National Conservation Strategy - Ian Moffat. "The evolution of the sustainable development concept." 1992. pp.24-34.

environment decisions at times at the cost of development priorities.[183] This difference in perspective can largely account for the criticism by the conservation movement that the government still maintained a priority on growth at the expense of the environment. Thus the conservation movement found itself still at odds with the Queensland government over environmental issues in spite of the reforms.

Meanwhile the conservation movement had gained a great deal of public support for their concerns, Australia-wide.[184] Over the late 1970s and early 1980s the Tasmanian Dam issue had catalysed thousands of people in support the conservation movement campaign. Since the that time, the conservation movement remained, federally, a significant voting bloc responsible for returning the Federal Labor Party to office. In Queensland, environmental conflict had flourished, and was a major factor behind the electoral success of the Labor Party in the 1989 Queensland election.[185] Meanwhile the Queensland Labor Party had made a public commitment to up-hold the Fitzgerald Inquiry recommendations. However the issues which catalysed the formation of the Fitzgerald Inquiry were primarily democratic, rather than to address the accumulation crises of the liberal-democratic state. The community, including the conservation movement, demanded enhanced government accountability and defence of civil liberties. The conservation movement had supported the government reform agenda in Queensland with the hope of being a legitimate partner in environmental management and related policy areas.[186]

As criticism from the conservation movement persisted, the Queensland Labor Government found it necessary to contain dissent about environmental issues without resorting, or appearing to resort, to the obviously repressive measures of the previous National Party Government. Their concerns were the minimisation of electoral backlashes and consequent damage to the business-state nexus should democratic demands from the public be implemented against the apparent interests of the business community. One means for

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[183] Horstman. "Introduction." 1991.

[184] See Chapter Three: Consolidation of the New Conservation Movement.

[185] See Chapter Three: The Adversarial Scenario.

[186] See Chapter Three: Ousting the National Party Government.

balancing legitimation and accumulation issues was through symbolic politics:

> by emphasising their commitment to specific symbols, such as 'conservation', governments seek public satisfaction, which may (and often does) defuse opposition to public policy, but time, or enlarge options,[187]

and thus appear to accede to democratic demands. The production and subsequent disregarding of the *Towards a Queensland Conservation Strategy. Facing the Issues* might be considered an example of this.[188] However another means to contain dissent was through institutionalising dissent by channelling it through formal consultation processes. The technocratic management reforms were consistent with this purpose

Legitimation issues were central to the management of the environmental limits to growth. Technocratic management rather than democratic participation had consistently flavoured the consultation practices of the *dominant strategy*. According to Moffat, the *World Conservation Strategy*:[189]

> did not involve or engage the 'average citizen', .. [it] was elitist in its collation of data and secretive in its selection of people to comment on the draft editions ... when released it was aimed at government policy makers, conservationists and developers.[190]

Consultation strategies were subordinated to accumulation priorities. This priority accounts for the inclusion of industry, government, and academic and other specialist representation in the consultation processes. In Queensland, consultation referred to the institutionalisation and legitimation of the business-state nexus. Community consultation was largely a strategy for containing social dissent, and controlling policy outcomes.

The role of consultation to contain rather than articulate social dissent largely accounts for many of the criticisms raised by the conservation movement of the reform process, for

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[187] Elizabeth van Acker and Elizabeth Eddy. "The Moreton Island sand mining conflict: 1974-1990." Ken J. Walker. ed. *Australian Environmental Policy*. NSW University Press. Kensington, NSW. 1992. p.100.

[188] Hunt claims this strategy was isolated and ignored - Colin Hunt. "Goss IS Greener - but to a Queensland Government - growth is more important than Ecologically Sustainable Development." *Social Alternatives*. vol.11. no.2. 1992. p.37.

[189] International Union for Conservation of Nature, World Wildlife Fund, and United Nations Environmental Program. *World Conservation Strategy*. 1980

[190] Moffat. "The evolution of the sustainable development concept." 1992. p.32.

instance: the under-resourcing of community groups, the insufficient time frames and access to information, and the non-negotiable terms of reference. This suggests that the inclusion of the conservation groups in consultation was a political strategy to contain their dissent rather than an acceptance of their involvement as a specialist or interested party in the policy processes. Indeed, the involvement of the conservation movement was criticised by some industrial interests on the basis of a lobby already considered to be too powerful being allowed to have too strong a voice. For instance, the Business Council of Australia expressed concern that "the government [would] use its Resource Assessment Commission to delay or avoid making hard decisions in conflicts over using resources" to avoid angering the environmental lobby.[191] This view was particularly apparent in the lead-up to the Federal Government ESD project in 1990. Like the Resource Assessment Commission, the ESD process was established to deal with conflict between developers and environmentalist. [192] The Confederation of Australian Industries claimed that while "industry has taken a 'fair and balanced' approach to economic and conservation goals" some extremist parts of the conservation might well prove successful in gaining undue attention by other parts of the conservation movement and the government.[193] References were made to "shameless vote-chasing" by the ALP for the green vote.[194] There were also claims that the Queensland Resource Industries Department had been a "victim of the past decade's swing to green politics," and thus losing the confidence of the mining industry, the government, and its own staff.[195] Since that time, criticism has continued about the extent to which the government accedes to conservation demands. Criticism was mounted against the Federal Labor

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[191] Leith Young. "Care for the environment should be market-based, says BCA." *The Age*. 13 July. 1990. p.5. The Resource Assessment Commission was established in 1989 following increasing conflict throughout Australia about conservation and development issues. The aim was to establish an independent body for mediating resource conflicts. However it did not defuse conflict very successfully - see Papadakis. Politics and the Environment. 1993. 99.124-28.

[192] Papadakis provides a background to the ESD [ecologically sustainable development] process by the Federal Government in 1990 - Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. pp.128-134.

[193] David McKenzie. "CAI accuses Kelly of pandering to the environmental movement." *The Age*. 4 September. 1990. p.12.

[194] Des Keegan. "Signs of sense at last about environment". *The Australian*. 24 July. 1990. p.14 and "Get some guidelines and get on with the job". *The Australian*. 2 July. 1990. p.11.

[195] "We must get it right on resources". *Courier Mail*. 2 March 1992. p.8.

Government that soon industry would not be permitted in any forests around Australia.[196]

Therefore, in spite of apparent acceding to conservation demands, and some genuine moves in the conservation direction for political expedience, the environmental agenda of the Queensland Government was concerned with accumulation and legitimation issues. Economic development was to be managed within a framework of consultation with the private sector, and sustainable development referred to resource management to ensure long-term viability of the resource base of the economy.

**political closure and new alignments**

This situation put the conservation movement in a quandary about strategy. The conservation movement generally campaigned around the state elections, promoting the party with the policies coinciding most closely with their own agenda.[197] With their long-term party ally in office,[198] the reforms process recreated political closure behind the rhetoric of consultation and coordination. Political pressure on the Labor Party was the major means left for the conservation movement to attempt to influence policy, as signalled by the preparedness to consider electoral alliance with other parts of the green movement and other actors in the 1990s.

This interest in electoral alliances was preceded by ambivalence towards invitations from other parts of the green movement to collectively contest local and state elections. In October 1989 the conservation movement had shown some tentative interest in supporting the Green Independents campaign. The campaigns of the two Green Independent candidates were noted, mainly in connection with their support of the Log of Claims.[199] Some prominent

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[196] Mark Irving. "Beazley warned on green strategy". *The Australian*. 21 November. 1995. p.7.

[197] See Chapter Three: The Adversarial Scenario.

[198] See Chapter Three: Ousting the National Party Government.

[199] "The Green Challenge." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.10. no.2. 1989. p.10.

conservation movement activists attended some Green Independent campaign meetings.[200] However this support was later tacitly withdrawn. Instead, the conservation movement ran a Green Challenge campaign, to affect election results without fielding candidates.[201]

The reluctance by the conservation movement to stand Green Independent candidates indicated an unwillingness to compromise their relationship with the Labor Party at this time. The election had shown promise for a Labor win as the then discredited National Party would be unlikely to retain government even with the gerrymander in their favour.[202] However another reason was that the conservation participants did not necessarily identify with the broader green movement. As one commentator notes, by the late 1980s there were many groups which also identified as green, including conservationists, peace movement activists, independent small green parties in NSW, WA and SA, the Rainbow Alliance, the Tasmanian Greens and the Australian Democrats. Moreover the conservationists were suspicious about the environmental priorities of the broader green movement:

> Nature conservationists do have some valid causes of concern though. Their efforts have probably been more responsible than any other for the development of a 'green' consciousness in Australia and yet Green candidates (including a number of successful ones) do not, for the most part, have a strong background in conservation. As a result, conservation groups around the country are beginning to look at various political options including standing their own Green candidates and 'vetting' Green candidates who stand.[203]

The conservation movement had a specific focus on environmental and related concerns and a sophisticated organisational machinery for pursuing their objectives. Thus, there was some reluctance to compromise their resources for what was effectively an unknown quantity to the conservation movement. The response of the conservation movement to the invitation to support green independent candidates for the 1989 elections was therefore ambivalent.

However the reluctance by the conservation movement to co-operate with the broader green

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[200] Drew Hutton. "Green politics in Australia and the Queensland elections." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*, vol.2. no.6. 1989.

[201] See Chapter Three: Reconciling Development and Nature Preservation.

[202] See Chapter Three: Ousting the National Party Government.

[203] Drew Hutton. "Green Politics in Australia." 1989.

movement began to dissipate as the Goss Labor Government continued its term. This tentative interest reflected a search for new alignments to enhance their opportunity to influence the government policy. The Queensland Conservation Council convened a public meeting in February 1990 in Brisbane, inviting interested green movement participants in Queensland to a discussion about building broad support for contesting the federal elections, due to be held early the next year.[204] The meeting was attended by Brisbane participants from the radical political movement, the conservation and urban movements, and included informal representation from organisations including: the Rainbow Alliance, People for Nuclear Disarmament, Queensland Development Education Council (now Global Learning Centre), Democratic Socialist Party, New Left Party, Australian Democrats, Australian Conservation Foundation, and the Wilderness Society.[205]

From this meeting came agreements to contest the 1990 federal and the 1991 local government elections. There was also an agreement to form an on-going organisation to facilitate cooperation within the green movement in electoral and non-electoral strategies,[206] subsequently the group was named the Queensland Green Network. This began a phase where the conservation movement, in concert with others, began to stand their own candidates rather than merely supporting those of the major parties.

## CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This chapter has shown that the reform process did little to advance the prospects of the political green or conservation movements for the implementation of their respective environmental projects. The political green movement did not manage to form more than minimal alignments with the residents movement in spite of the attempts through supporting local campaigns and running an election campaign on urban issues for the 1988 local government elections. The disappointment of the residents movement with the reform process

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[204] It was convened by the Queensland Conservation Council - *Queensland Green Network Newsletter*. Author's collection. May. no.1. 1990. p.2.

[205] *Queensland Green Network Newsletter*. Author's collection. May. no.1. p.2.

[206] *Queensland Green Network Newsletter*. Author's collection. May. no.1. p.2.

initiated by the Atkinson Liberal Brisbane City Council administration did not foster alignments with the greens but served to reinforce the commitment to conventional political strategies, such as supporting a Labor victory for the Queensland Government elections in 1989. Meanwhile the conservation movement again experienced political closure in spite of the reform process being initiated following years of their lobbying the major parties to introduce them. The reform agenda of the Queensland Labor Government proved to be at cross purposes with the reform agenda of the conservation movement. However, while remaining committed to conventional political strategies, the conservation movement sought alignments on a new basis to enhance their capacity to pressure the Queensland Government.

The failures of the conservation and political green movements to flourish in this altered political and institutional context contributed by 1990 to a tentative basis for cooperation within the broader green movement in southeast Queensland. However the strategies to deal with persisting political marginalisation were also intrinsically linked with the national context of social turmoil. This turmoil reflected the intensification of social conflict under the neocorporatist reforms process of the Federal Labor Government since 1983. The next Chapter therefore examines the grounds for alignment between the conservation and political green movement, and a range of other actors, with special attention to the national context.

# Chapter Seven

# THE NATIONAL CONTEXT AND MOVEMENT BUILDING

This chapter is the second in Part C, which addresses the means used by the green movements in southeast Queensland, from the mid-1980s onwards, to enhance their effectiveness in a rapidly changing social and political context. The previous Chapter showed that by the late 1980s, the conservation and green political movements in Queensland had been thwarted in their endeavours to realise institutional change for achieving their environmental projects. The conservation movement again experienced political closure, this time through the limitations of the reform process and the deliberate aim of cooption by the Queensland Government. The green political movement on the other hand had been unable to sufficiently undermine the resistance of the residents movement to their radical orientation, particularly as the residents movement developed a stake in the local and state government reform process. For the green movements, electoral strategies involving alignments on new bases were considered, signalled initially by the tentative cooperation around the 1989 Queensland state elections. This chapter focuses on the subsequent development of cooperation within the green movement in southeast Queensland, over this period and extending into the early 1990s, with specific reference to the national arena.

This chapter shows that the national arena of contemporary and left movements, catalysed in the mid-1980s into seeking more effective means of mobilising, played a substantial role in accounting for the extent and character of green movement consolidation in southeast Queensland.[1] The theoretical basis for this chapter, like the previous one, is based on the notion of movement consolidation.[2] In accounting for the influence of the national arena upon the green movement in southeast Queensland, three dimensions have been distinguished

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[1] 'Contemporary movements' refers to the single-issue movements such as the peace, anti-nuclear, women, and Aboriginal land rights, bearing in mind that they are rarely single-issue and their issues and membership to overlap considerably. These movements may also include some participants from the left. The 'left' movement refers to those which identify with the traditions of left politics in Australia and organise collectively with others who also identify with the left.

[2] See Chapter Two: Consolidation and the introduction to Chapter Six.

to identify the extent and character of its consolidation. The first dimension is the increasing interpenetration of the national and Queensland green movements, with reference to the local, state, and national levels of movements and associated organisational infrastructure. The second dimension is the increasing identification of other actors with the green movement, to pursue previously established objectives. The third dimension is the organisational and participant overlap, the formation of ethos groups, and the emergence of actors identified as leaders. The principal sources for this chapter has been that produced by the green and other movements and groups referred to in the chapter. This material includes organisation newsletters, policies, discussion papers, submissions, press releases, minutes of meetings, and conferences proceedings.

The chapter begins with a national focus in the first section. This section establishes the basis of debate emerging in the mid-1980s in the contemporary and left movements about future directions at a national level. The remainder of the chapter addresses the green movement in southeast Queensland, with reference to the national context and its impact upon consolidation developments within it. These sections show that the extent and character of the green movement consolidation was to a large extent an outcome of the endeavour of actors within, and aligned with, the green movement to assert their own priorities, balanced against the perceived need to work cooperatively with others. Accordingly, these sections draw attention to the potential for conflict *and* solidarity in the processes of movement consolidation.

The second section addresses the involvement of the political green movement in the 'new political initiative'. This initiative was established as a national organisation in the late 1980s from the national debate in the contemporary movements about future directions. As Chapter Six proposes, this initiative shared with the political green movement the intention to build a mass movement which incorporated the concerns, issues, and participants of the prevailing contemporary movements. This section draws attention to the bases for alignments between this new political initiative and the political green movement, as well as alignments of both with a range of other actors at national and regional levels. It also draws attention to the tensions within between these two initiatives which eventually precipitated the withdrawal of the green political movement from the new political initiative by the early 1990s.

The following two sections focus more specifically on green movement consolidation in southeast Queensland. They show that the consolidation process was primarily facilitated by the election campaigns organised from the broadly-based green movement, and the fielding of green candidates. These two sections also refer to national consolidation processes, discussed in the previous two sections, and the repercussions for the green movement consolidation in south east Queensland. The first of these two sections addresses the formation of a green electoral alliance in southeast Queensland, and the rationale for the participants involvement. The final section addresses the formation of a state-based green party in Queensland. This section also draws attention to the state-wide reach of this initiative and the increasing cooperation between the conservation and the green political movements throughout Queensland. It also shows that the formation of this organisation was intimately connected with the continuing debate nationally about the role of an electoral wing of the green movement.

This chapter shows that the green movement in southeast Queensland was involved in a nation-wide process from which the Australian Greens, and Queensland Greens were formed. However tracing the formation of these political parties is not the primary purpose of this chapter. The primary purpose is to identify the extent and character of green movement consolidation in southeast Queensland. At that stage of green movement development, consolidation had been catalysed by debates and activities about electoral strategies. The electoral wing of the green movement did not represent the entire green movement, nor did the presence of these green political parties necessarily preclude the potential for consolidation through other means at a later date.

This chapter ultimately argues that consolidation of the green movement in southeast Queensland was shaped to a large extent by firstly, the national green movement, and secondly, the increasing interest in fielding green candidates in state and federal elections in opposition to the major parties. The chapter shows that debate about how this could be achieved was divisive nationally and in southeast Queensland, and that subsequent endeavours to have particular strategies implemented resulted in the specific character of the green political movement in southeast Queensland, Queensland, and nationally.

## NATIONAL INITIATIVES

This section addresses the background to green movement consolidation, with reference to the national context of movement turmoil in the mid-1980s. The section first focuses upon events in 1986 which marked that year as a significant one for later contemporary and left movements re-organisation. It refers to several initiatives in 1986 which reflected the endeavours by left and contemporary movements to develop coherent national strategies for dealing with issues of concern to them. This section identifies what these developments in 1986 contributed to broader contemporary movement consolidation throughout Australia, and as a basis for developments in the green movement in southeast Queensland.

### two conferences

The Getting Together and Broad Left Conferences were separately convened in Sydney in April 1986, coincidently on the same (Easter) weekend, within a kilometre of each other. The coincidental timing of these conferences was precipitated by a series of factors reflecting the concerns of the left and contemporary movements. One factor was the disenchantment with the new Federal Labor Government which succeeded the Liberal Fraser administration in late 1983. One central concern to participants of both conferences was the endorsement by the 1984 Labor Conference of uranium mining in spite of demands from the peace movement over the previous decade to end it.[3] Another factor which fuelled the Getting Together Conference was the failed bid of the alternative community movement to obtain federal funding for the rural land-sharing communities.[4] However, their separate organisation reflected the division of the progressive movements into the left and non-left

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[3] For instance, many of those who supported the formation of the Nuclear Disarmament Party in 1984 were concerned about the policy direction of the new Federal Labor Government. Their concerns included nuclear, Aboriginal, education, and economic issues, according to Jean Meltzer. Meltzer left the Labor Party in protest, following the fateful 1984 National Labor Conference, and helped to found the Nuclear Disarmament Party - "Jean Meltzer: No time to wait for Labor". *Direct Action* no.502. pp.44-45. For further information on the Nuclear Disarmament party, refer to Chapter Five: Why Form a Party? (footnote) Also, some green electoral initiatives in Sydney and Brisbane were begun in 1984 in response to these developments - see Chapter Five: A New Mass Movement Building Strategy.

[4] See Chapter Four: Economic Viability.

(contemporary).[5]

The Getting Together Conference was an initiative from the Liffey Group, associated with the Tasmanian green electoral movement. One aim of the Liffey Group was to open discussion about the possibility of forming a national green party. This initiative rapidly took national proportions, as groups around Australia began to discuss and support it.[6] Pre-conference organising rapidly expanded beyond the initiators, and involved local people in Sydney where it was eventually convened. In addition to the individuals and groups which organised this conference, there was also support from national organisations including the Australian Conservation Foundation, Wilderness Society, and Australian Association of Sustainable Communities.[7] Moreover opening speakers at the Conference reflected a broad variety of environmental and social issues.[8]

The conference was convened to provide a forum for facilitating discussion in the contemporary movements about issues of concern to them:

> Recent decades have witnessed the emergence in embryonic form of a world view which places the needs of the people and the needs of the planet before the needs of the systems (industrial, economic and political) which governs them. In Europe the green movement is an expression of this view. In Australia there are now many groups which have formulated similar thoughts. The task now is to draw together all these groups into a powerful, supportive, visionary movement, a movement which will reflect and foster this change in world view.[9]

Several editions of the *Getting Together Newsletter* were circulated nationally for several months beforehand, to air views and issues in preparation for discussion at the conference

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[5] This point is also raised by Fararr, who also examines movement re-organisation repercussions from these two conferences - Adam Fararr. "Gathering together the fragments." *Australian Society,* February. 1988. pp.22-24.

[6] Background to the Getting Together Conference noted in *Getting Together Newsletters*. Author's collection, and Bob Brown. "Opening Speakers". *Getting Together Conference. Getting Together. Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. Author's collection. [c.1987]. p.4. Also see Chapter Five: Demise of the Green Party for additional background to the Getting Together Conference.

[7] Getting Together Conference. "People who made the Conference Work." *Getting Together Conference. Getting Together. Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. Author's collection. [c.1987]. back page.

[8] These speakers are listed in "Opening Speakers." Getting Together Conference. *Getting Together. Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. Author's collection. [c.1987] pp.4-8.

[9] Getting Together Newsletter. *Introductory Newsletter*. Author's collection. [late 1985 or early 1986] front page.

and to foster inclusion from a wide range social base.[10] The Conference was attended by approximately 500 people from around Australia.[11] The 43-strong Queensland contingent to this conference included participants from across the three green movements as well as other participants in the political counter-culture and alternative community movement.[12]

The Getting Together Conference reflected many of the concerns of contemporary movements in the mid-1980s, framed by the principles of "ecological sustainability, grassroots democracy, personal liberation, and social justice".[13] The organisation of the Conference also reflected the style of the political counter-culture. Decentralisation and participation were encouraged, mainly through small group discussions, with an emphasis on communication, and sharing ideas and information. The first day opened with various speakers, then a series of workshops and "action groups" were convened around a range of issues over this and the next day. The workshops addressed personal growth issues such as despair and empowerment and co-counselling; sustainable lifestyle issues including appropriate technology, co-operatives, and ethical investment, and social change strategies; and skilling such as non-violent action, working with the media, and discussions about reform versus fundamental change. The action groups discussed issues including land rights, ethical investment, and women's issues, while several focused upon strategies for the contemporary movements. Three addressed electoral strategies. On the third day of the Conference a plenary of all participants was held, to report back from the groups and to

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[10] The *Getting Together Newsletter* was published by the Liffey Group to encourage support and communication through a broad constituency of movement participants - noted in *Introductory Newsletter* [produced by the Liffey Group in collaboration with some other individuals in other parts of Australia] [late 1985 or early 1986]. This newsletter provided contacts for further information in ACT, Victoria, Western Australia, and Tasmania, indicating the first stage of preparation for the conference. This newsletter also mooted the invitation extended to Petra Kelly and Gert Bastion from the German Greens to be keynote speakers for the conference, which indicated the identification of this initiative with the overseas green movement.

[11] This is an estimate made by a participant soon after the conference, noted in the Getting Together Conference. *Getting Together. Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. [c.1987] p.42. Another participant suggested 600. My memory as a participant was that numbers varied over the conference, and that a larger figure was reached at times.

[12] "List of the Queensland Participants in the Getting Together Conference". [two page list of Queensland participants distributed by the Australian Association of Sustainable Communities] Author's collection. [c.late 1986].

[13] Front page banner of Getting Together Conference. Getting Together. *Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. [c.1987].

consider further activities beyond the conference.[14] The two dominant strategies were *lifestyle* and electoral strategies, reflecting to a large extent the pre-occupations of the alternative community movement and the growing green electoral initiatives.[15]

In contrast to the Getting Together Conference, the Broad Left Conference was convened to address the strategy concerns of the left. This Conference was catalysed by growing disillusionment with the Federal Labor Government in relation to a series of issues, particularly the Accord strategy.[16] The Accord strategy had been divisive for the left: those not in support were effectively disenfranchised from traditional organisational vehicles of the trade union movement and Labor Party.[17] For many years the membership in left organisations had been declining. Thus this conference was also a response to debate in the left over the previous decade in relation to the need for left renewal and an "alternative economic strategy".[18]

Apart from enhancing the power of the left, left renewal also involved forming stronger links with the contemporary movements. Through the 1980s the disenfranchised left had continued to focus on the apparent need for new strategies and new alliance strategies.[19] Meanwhile, many who identified with the left were currently involved in the contemporary movements. However the new movements as vehicles for social change were viewed with some scepticism by the left on the grounds of the absence of a class analysis, the single-issue

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[14] The conference proceedings outlined all the reports and outcomes - Getting Together Conference. *Getting Together. Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. [c.1987].

[15] These two dominant strategies were apparent in the conference proceedings - Getting Together Conference. *Getting Together. Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. [c.1987].

[16] The Broad Left Conference attracted approximately 1,600 participants, concerned about a range of issues including "the Accord, economic strategies, the public sector, the socialist countries, the Labor government ... [and] the BLF [Builders Labourers' Federation]" - David Burchell. "After the event: Broad Left viewpoints". *Australian Left Review*. Winter. no.96. 1986. pp.14-18.

[17] For instance, see David McNight. ed. *Moving Left*. Pluto Press. Sydney. 1986.

[18] The 'alternative economic strategy' debate represented the endeavour to formulate and implement an economic agenda of social reform to oppose the increasing dominance of economic rationalism. See Elizabeth Eddy. 1989. "The development of the 'alternative economic strategy' debate in Australia: 1976-1989". Honours Thesis. Division of Humanities, Griffith University. 1989.

[19] For example, see *Australian Left Review*, *Tribune*, and David McNight. ed. *Moving Left*. Pluto Press. Sydney. 1986.

orientation, organisational fragmentation, and the ideological commitment to decentralised modes of organisation.[20] Moreover, many participants in the contemporary movements rejected the left on many grounds, including charges that it was no longer relevant to contemporary issues. Another criticism was that the left was inherently authoritarian, and thus at odds with the participatory and decentralised priorities of many in the contemporary movements. Thus the contemporary movements were supported by many people who had rejected the left.[21] The Broad Left Conference was accordingly an opportunity to consider how best to form alignments with the contemporary movements.

**repercussions of the two conferences**

A formal follow-up from the Broad Left Conference was the Charter Process. This Process was implemented with the aim of forming a new party which could unite the fragmented left:

> For some time, many socialists and left activists have been discussing the pressing need for a new party to help renew the purpose, vision and effectiveness of the left and socialist movements.[22]

The aim was to make the left "a major force in Australian politics".[23] By 1989 the New Left Party was launched and the Foundation Meeting convened in July 1990.[24] Soon after, their policy package, *A Changing World. A New Response*,[25] was endorsed. The policy package reflected economic and social issue of long concern to the left, including: the expansion of democracy, the alternative economic development strategy, Aboriginal land rights and sovereignty, gender issues, multicultural issues, independent foreign policy, education, arts and culture, rights for lesbian and gay men, and a policy for a "democratic,

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[20] For instance, see Belinda Probert. "Social movements and socialism." David McKnight. ed. *Moving Left*. Pluto Press. Sydney. 1986.

[21] See Chapter Four: The Humanism of the New Left for criticism of the left by the radical political movements.

[22] Charter Process Group. *Time to Act. For a New Left Party*. [c.1988] u.p.

[23] Charter Process Group. *Time to Act*. [c.1988] u.p.

[24] New Left Party. *A Changing World. A New Response*. [c.1990] u.p. Also see background to formation of the New Left Party in Robert Leach. *The Alliance Alternative in Australia. Beyond Labor and Liberal*. Catalyst Press, Left Bookclub Co-operative Ltd. Annandale, New South Wales. 1995.

[25] New Left Party. *A Changing World. A New Response*. [c.1990] u.p.

militant and interventionist union movement". However the policy package platform also highlighted environmental issues, expressed as a policy for "a sustainable and livable environment", reflecting both an issue of concern to many on the left as well as recognition of the appeal of this issue to a broad constituency.[26]

Another initiative from the broad left, also aiming to foster alignment between the left and contemporary movements, was the formation of a new newspaper. This was specifically an initiative from the Communist Party which was planning to close down its newspaper, the *Tribune*. Over the late 1980s and early 1990s, the process to form this newspaper opened up to the left and contemporary movements negotiation about its administration and editorial policy, and membership in the Board of Directors. Those involved in the formation process aimed to provide a forum for both the left and contemporary movements. It was launched in 1992 as *Broadside*. However, it was closed down two years later due to the inability to achieve economic viability.[27]

The Getting Together Conference, on the other hand, did not have the same clear strategy and organisational goals as the Broad Left Conference. To some extent the organisation of the Getting Together Conference militated against the endorsement of a particular organisational outcome. The Getting Together Conference invited participants as individuals. The decentralised discussion process encouraged diversity and selective participation on the basis of personal interest. The emphasis was upon sharing information and communication rather than decision-making.[28] Decisions made at the conference had no binding authority over any part of the contemporary movements, or even other participants in the conference. Consequently, this Conference was not organised to be a decision-making forum: as the name of the Conference implied, the purpose was to 'get together'.

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[26] Successive drafts were distributed and discussed through the *New Left Party National Bulletin* in 1987-89.

[27] Background to this initiative is outlined in [Broad Left Weekly]. *Prospectus for a Broad Left Weekly*. Author's collection. July 1991, and "New National Left and Progressive Newspaper." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. December. 1990.

[28] These priorities were evident in the *Getting Together Newsletters* and Getting Together Conference. *Getting Together. Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. [c.1987].

The hopes of the Getting Together Conference convenors were not realised: a national green electoral organisation was not formed from this conference, nor was a formal process established to do so,[29] in spite of two workshops focusing explicitly upon this issue, as well as discussion about electoral strategies throughout several other workshops.[30] To some extent, this outcome can be attributed to the lack of decision-making capability of the conference. More importantly, the idea of a national electoral organisation did not have unanimous support. Many argued against any kind of national electoral strategy, while others were divided about how it might proceed. For instance, the two different green party workshops reflected differing approaches to a national electoral strategy. One workshop was convened by a prominent member of the Brisbane Green Party, while the other was convened by a member of the Sydney Greens, respectively named the Green Party Electoral Strategy Group and Greens Network Group.[31] The main point of contention surrounded the question of whether a national electoral organisation should proceed as an alliance or as a process to build a national organisation.

Although no concrete national initiatives emerged from this conference, it nonetheless contributed to contemporary movement consolidation, broadly under the umbrella of the green movement. Urban and regional centres in Tasmania, Sydney, Armidale, Perth, Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane, Canberra, and Far North Queensland continued to meet over the next year or so as Getting Together groups. In addition, Green Electoral Strategy groups proceeded in Brisbane, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Perth.[32] Moreover, the Australian

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[29] Following the Getting Together Conference, Bob Brown distributed a letter, addressed to 'dear all' and dated 28 October 1986. In this letter, he stated that discussion at the Getting Together Conference indicated that there was insufficient support as yet for a green party. He proposed the formation of a coalition of 'independent greens'. Author's collection.

[30] Getting Together Conference. *Getting Together. Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. [c.1987].

[31] Drew Hutton, the spokesperson for the Brisbane Green Party (see Chapter Five: Supporting Popular Urban Struggles) convened one workshop, noted in Getting Together Conference. *Getting Together. Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. [c.1987]. p.24. The 'Sydney Greens' refers to the Sydney-based Green parties in New South Wales, at that time consisting of Inner West Greens, Eastern Suburbs Greens, Inner West Greens, and South Sydney Greens.

[32] Getting Together Conference. *Getting Together. Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. [c.1987]. p.2. Moreover, the two green electoral strategies to emerge from the Getting Together Conference were promoted widely. For instance, both Tony Harris, for the Sydney Greens, and Drew Hutton published short articles explaining their strategies, in *Getting Together Adelaide*. Author's collection. July. no.3.

Association for Sustainable Communities, within the auspices of their self-nominated networking role, produced and distributed to participants attendance lists to foster continuing communication of people. This Conference also contributed to national level movement consolidation through the opportunities for communication about common concerns and issues. Thus, this conference was a significant step in building a national network amongst participants and those with whom they were working.

Moreover there was some cross-participation between the Getting Together and Broad Left Conferences, particularly linking environmental and labour movement issues. For instance, a report from the Red and Green Workshop at the Getting Together Conference states:

> This workshop brought together delegates from the Getting Together Conferences to discuss ways of combining trade unionism and ecology, and how unions and radical social movements should combine their energies and find common ground for future activity.[33]

Following the end of both conferences, an informal follow-up meeting of the Red and the Green was convened. This meeting, open to all participants of both conferences, reflected an interest in bridging the apparent gap between the left and other progressive movements. It was attended by about 100 people.[34]

However, another follow-up from both conferences was an initiative from the left, quite distinct from the New Left Party strategy. This initiative endeavoured to build on the apparent support for bridging the left and contemporary movements, expressed at the Red and Green meeting at the end of both conferences. The "new political initiative" for a new "political movement", was catalysed around the discussion paper, *A Major New Initiative Towards an Alternative Australia*.[35] By May 1987 this initiative was formalised as the

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[33] Elim Papadakis. Getting Together Conference. *Getting Together. Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. c.1987. pp.18-19.

[34] S. Joseph. "Drawing together the red and the green". *Tribune*. February. 1986. p.9.

[35] [Jo Camilleri and Jim Falk] *A Major New Initiative Towards an Alternative Australia*. [c.1986] - for background to this discussion paper, see Chapter Six: Political Greens Re-Emerge.

Rainbow Alliance.[36] In the first year, branches were established in Melbourne, Brisbane, Sydney, and South Australia (the Western Australian delegates decided not to join). By 1990 it had over 1,000 members throughout Australia, the greater majority in Victoria.[37] The Rainbow Alliance rapidly produced a range of national policies including: economic, Aboriginal, peace and security, environment, greenhouse policy, health, and agricultural and land use for food production.[38]

This organisation flourished at a national and state level for several years following its formation in 1987. It played a significant role in building networks and alignments between left and contemporary movements at a national level, particularly as the central aim was one of mass movement building. This mass movement building preoccupation was of particular interest to the political green movement in Brisbane, which also had a similar interest in forming a coherent movement of national dimensions, as signalled by the aims of the Brisbane Green Party.[39] This national organisation played a significant role in alignments in southeast Queensland. These issues are discussed in the following section.

## RAINBOW ALLIANCE: NATIONAL AND QUEENSLAND ALIGNMENTS

This section discusses alignments which proceeded from the mass movement building endeavours of the Rainbow Alliance. These alignments were formed at national and local levels in accord with the priorities of the agendas of the social democratic ethos group in the Victorian branch, and the green political ethos group in the Queensland branch. The section also addresses the tensions between the social democratic and political green ethos groups. These tensions culminated in the redirection of the efforts of the green political movement towards the formation of an electoral strategy outside the Rainbow Alliance.

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[36] See Boris Frankel. "The Rainbow Alliance." *Habitat*. June. 1988. pp.33-35, David Burchell. "Over the rainbow." *Australian Left Review*. no.106. 1988. p.24, and A. Caddick and M. Lynch. "Rainbow politics: a real alternative?" *Arena*. no.83. 1988. pp.41-47.

[37] Noted in 1990 and 1990 Rainbow Alliance National Conference Minutes. Author's collection.

[38] A series of national Rainbow Alliance policies were formulated, often with the collaboration of other groups, then ratified and distributed for public comment. These processes were referred to in the minutes of conferences and of the National Working Group, which coordinated the branches. Author's collection.

[39] See Chapter Five: Uniting Movements Behind the Green Symbol.

**national alignments: the social democratic concerns**

A principal purpose of the Brisbane Green Party, which saw the coalescence of the green political movement, was the endeavour to facilitate the formation of a mass movement:

> The Green Party's role in achieving this unity will be vital ... [A] major Green Party conference early next year ... will address itself primarily to reviewing our basic philosophical principles and our relationship with the Australia wide green movement.[40]

However following the demise of the Brisbane Green Party th- political green movement remained organisationally submerged until the appearance of two seemingly new opportunities for mass movement building, this time on a national scale. The first was the linkages made with those others interested in a green political party.[41] The other opportunity was the new political initiative which in 1987 was formalised as the Rainbow Alliance. In the Rainbow Alliance, the Queensland political green movement had found a new vehicle for their mass movement building aspirations to achieve a 'just, humane, and ecological' society.[42] The political green movement identified both as green movement developments.

In addition to the green political movement, this branch of the Rainbow Alliance also had members who were active in many other groups and movements, particularly peace and social justice, including Action for World Development, Community Aid Abroad, Justice 88 (an Aboriginal support group), Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, The Society of Friends (Quakers), Secure Australia Project, and Anti-Bases Coalition.[43] Membership of the Queensland branch of the Rainbow Alliance was mainly from Brisbane, in spite of attempts to get branches started in other parts of Queensland.[44] At its height in

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[40] "Editorial." *Green Pieces. Newsletter of the Green Party*. Author's collection. no.1. December. 1985. p.1.

[41] See above discussion regarding the Getting Together Conference and the Green Party Electoral Strategy Group.

[42] See Chapter Six: Political Greens Re-Emerge.

[43] Individual's memberships in these organisations were noted in the Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland membership lists - revised versions from years 1987-1992. Author's collection.

[44] In recognition of this, the Queensland branch changed its name to the Rainbow Alliance South East Queensland, and changed the title of the newsletter accordingly.

the late 1980s, membership was about 200.[45] Through this organisation, alignments at national and local levels were fostered.

Alignments at a national level reflected to a large extent the priorities of the initiators of the Rainbow Alliance, established primarily in the Victorian branch. Within the framework of building a mass movement across the left and contemporary forces, their two main concerns were to establish a national mobilisation, and to promote a left economic agenda. Prior to the proposed new political initiative and subsequent formation of the Rainbow Alliance, the main initiator, Joseph Camilleri, had raised these concerns.[46] Moreover, the initial draft of what was to become the national Rainbow Alliance economic policy was formulated prior to the implementation of a policy-making process in the Rainbow Alliance.[47] A revised version of this draft was submitted as the first Rainbow Alliance draft of an economic policy, called *New Economic Directions for Australia*.[48] The Preamble of this draft states:

> We are aware that many specific areas are directly and indirectly related to the economy. Yet we do not pretend to provide detailed proposals in the areas of housing, health, defence and foreign policy, education, immigration, social welfare, media, environment and so forth. The paper simply provides the framework and macro-economic measures which make possible specific proposals in these other policy areas,[49]

indicating the centrality afforded economic issues by those who initiated the new political initiative, referred to in this thesis as the social democratic ethos group.

The first Special National Conference of the Rainbow Alliance was convened in March 1989,

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[45] Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland membership lists - revised versions from years 1987-1992. Author's collection.

[46] For instance, in 1980 while involved in the anti-uranium movement, Camilleri proposed that "the key to success [for the movement] was unity", and argued in favour of strategies which encouraged networking across the various movements - "What we can do now to stop uranium mining". *Chain Reaction*. no.21. 1980. p.28. Also see Joseph Camilleri. "After Social Democracy." *Arena*. no.77. 1986. pp.48-73,in which he anticipated this mobilisational attempt in the mid-1980s. For further information, see Chapter Six: Political Greens Re-emerge (footnote) for further biographical information about Joseph Camilleri.

[47] The initial draft was published in 1988, *Alternative Economic Directions For Australia*, as an introductory paper to *New Economic Directions for Australia*.

[48] John Wiseman, Lorrie Read, Joseph Camilleri, Peter Christoff, Rob Reid-Smith, Ian Ward, Rob Watts, Belinda Probert, and Boris Frankel. *New Economic Directions for Australia. A Discussion Paper*. March. 1989.

[49] Wiseman et al. *New Economic Directions for Australia*. 1989. p.5.

to finalise the economic policy. Following an amendment process within the Rainbow Alliance, the new version of *New Economic Directions for Australia* was adopted as National Rainbow Alliance policy.[50] This document was published for distribution to interested people and groups.[51] Furthermore, a National Economic Working Group was established from this conference to establish the "potential for collaboration" over the coming years.[52] Both these developments indicate the focus on economic and related social democratic concerns of the initiators of the new political initiative.

These economic concerns were compatible with others on the left, who also sought an alternative to the Accord and other macro-economic policies of the Federal Labor Government. The main target for inclusion from the left was the New Left Party. Potential for collaboration between the New Left Party and the Rainbow Alliance was fostered through some discussion meetings of national representatives of both groups.[53] Many prominent left political economists were members of, or associated with, the New Left Party, including Brian Aarons, Boris Frankel, and Ted Wheelwright. Moreover it was the intention of the New Left Party that it work collaboratively with other organisations and movements:

> The new party would work in broad alliances with all those who agree with these aims and would support all movements and demands consistent with them.[54]

In particular, the New Left Party had begun to look for alliances and found an interested ally in the Rainbow Alliance. Meanwhile in the late 1980s *New Economic Directions for Australia* was also submitted to the unions and conservation organisations, amongst others, for comment.

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[50] Using this paper as a basis for the Rainbow Alliance economic policy was not uncontentious: the Canberra branch submitted an alternative to this draft, entitled "The basis for an alternative economics policy". Author's collection.

[51] This version was distributed as Joseph Camilleri et al. 1990. *New Economic Directions for Australia*. Centre for Social Policy Analysis. Philip Institute of Technology. Melbourne.

[52] There are references to this in *1988 Rainbow Alliance National Conference Minutes*. Author's collection. 1988, and the minutes of the 1989 *Special Conference: Economics*. Author's collection. 1989.

[53] Reports of these meetings were noted in the minutes of Rainbow Alliance National Conferences 1989 and 1990. Author's collection.

[54] Charter Process Group. *Time to Act*. [c.1989]. u.p.

Mainly as an initiative of the Victorian branch, the Rainbow Alliance Economic Work Group convened the Remaking Australia Conference on the Labour Day weekend in 1988.[55] This Conference was both a promotion of the Rainbow Alliance draft economic policy, *New Economic Directions for Australia*,[56] and an attempt to gain support for campaigning on economic issues across the range of contemporary movements and unions. The conference invited speakers and support from the traditional left and union movement as well as representation from the contemporary movements. Amongst the speakers were participants in the green movement including Bob Brown, a prominent conservation movement activist and green independent MLA; Jack Mundey, well known for the Green Bans campaign in the 1970s and more recently as a local government councillor in Sydney; Jo Vallentine from the Western Australia Greens; and Drew Hutton from the Queensland Rainbow Alliance and originally involved in the Brisbane Green Party.[57]

The tentative involvement of the conservation movement in these economic issues campaigns reflected their growing frustration with the policies of the Federal Labor Government. The Hawke Labor Government won Federal Government in 1983 at a time of intense environmental conflict. There had long been links between the national conservation movement and the Federal Labor Party. These links were strengthened by the Federal Labor Party's commitment to prevent the damming of the Franklin River in Tasmania.[58] Soon

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[55] Rainbow Alliance. "Remaking Australia. People in Control of Politics, the Economy and the Environment". [promotional brochure and application form for conference convened for March 12-14 1988] Author's collection. 1988, Rainbow Alliance. "Remaking Australia. People in Control of Politics, the Economy and the Environment". [conference agenda for conference convened for March 12-14 1988] Author's collection. 1988, and Rainbow Alliance *Remaking Australian Conference: Conference Papers*. [proceedings for conference convened on March 12-14 1988, in Brunswick, Melbourne] Author's collection. 1988.

[56] Wiseman et al. *New Economic Directions for Australia*. 1989.

[57] Rainbow Alliance. "Remaking Australia. People in Control of Politics, the Economy and the Environment". [promotional brochure and application form for conference convened for March 12-14 1988] Author's collection. 1988, Rainbow Alliance. "Remaking Australia. People in Control of Politics, the Economy and the Environment". [conference agenda for conference convened for March 12-14 1988] Author's collection. 1988, and Rainbow Alliance *Remaking Australian Conference: Conference Papers*. [proceedings for conference convened on March 12-14 1988, in Brunswick, Melbourne] Author's collection. 1988.

[58] For instance, the funding support given by the Whitlam Federal Labor Government encouraged some links- see Chapter Three: Consolidation of the New Conservation Movement. Also see Liz Bourne. "A brighter future for the environment under Labor." *Queensland Conservation Council*. March. vol.4. no.2. 1983. pp.1-2 - This article discusses the hopes held by the conservation movement, for the incoming Federal Labor Government's support for conservation issues.

after taking office, the Federal Government produced an Australian version of the *World Conservation Strategy*[59] as the basis for the strategy developed for Australia, the *National Conservation Strategy for Australia*. This strategy paper states that the *World Conservation Strategy*:

> promotes the relationship between conservation and development as an issue of global importance demanding much greater attention from all countries.[60]

Meanwhile the Federal Government participated in some international forums, for instance, the Climate Convention and later the Biodiversity and Greenhouse Conventions. Commenting upon the Federal Labor Parties environmental performance, the conservation movement noted some successes. However disappointment was expressed about a number of areas, particularly:

> the Government's inadequate approach to important national issues of greenhouse effect, biodiversity, forestry, management of ocean and coastal zones.[61]

By the 1990 federal election, a preference strategy was promoted by Australian Conservation Foundation which continued the previous recommendation of prioritising the Labor Party over the Coalition, reflecting the better environmental policies of the Labor Party. However conservation supporters were urged to place Green and Australian Democrat preferences before the Labor Party. This strategy indicated that the Federal Labor Government's performance was not considered good enough.[62] Thus, in spite of the initial optimism by the conservation movement for the incoming Labor Federal Government, disappointment was becoming apparent.

Increasingly the national conservation movement was interested in economic issues, and their

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[59] International Union for Conservation of Nature, World Wildlife Fund, and United Nations Environmental Program. *World Conservation Strategy*. 1980.

[60] Department of Home Affairs and Environment. *National Conservation Strategy for Australia*. Conference draft. February. 1983.

[61] "Environment on the national agenda." *Conservation News*. vol.21. no.7. 1989. p.1.

[62] For instance, these matters are outlined in "Vote for the Environment." *Conservation News*. vol.22. no.2. 1990. p.1, and "ACF Election guide. The parties, the issues, the policies." *Conservation News*. vol.22. no.2. This is a lift-out section containing results obtained from a survey of the party's environmental policies.

impact upon environmental outcomes.[63] This preoccupation with economic issues flourished following the launching of the Australian version of *Our Common Future* by the Prime Minister in 1990.[64] The theme of the June 1990 issue of *Conservation News* was "sustaining the 'nineties". This issue of the Australian Conservation Foundation Newsletter considered a range of social and economic issues, such as immigration and macro-economic policy, which were intrinsically linked to environmental policy. In 1991 a report from the annual Australian Conservation Foundation Conference stated that:

> For its first 25 years, ACF [Australian Conservation Foundation] has concentrated on the protection of high conservation value areas. But in recent times, the Foundation has attempted to find solutions ... This year we are looking at a the macro-economic situation as well. Integration of environmental and economic imperatives is the name of the game.[65]

The economic agenda of the Rainbow Alliance was therefore of tentative interest to them.

In 1990 other economic and social issues campaigns were mounted by the Victorian Rainbow Alliance, to oppose the multi function polis and VFT (Very Fast Train). These campaigns were convened within the auspices of the Sustainable Communities Campaign, and promoted the policies of the Rainbow Alliance.[66] A joint campaign to oppose the multi-function polis was also mounted.[67] Following the 1988 Remaking Australia Conference, the Rainbow Alliance Economic Working Group convened the Economic and Social Justice Campaign in

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[63] According to Papadakis, the Australian Conservation Foundation and World Wildlife Fund expressed criticism towards 'catastrophists', referring to environmentalists such as Suzuki who asserted that economic growth was fundamentally incompatible with the environment. The Policy Unit formed by these two organisations endeavoured to address the issue of appropriate economic activity rather than focusing on problems with growth per se - Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. p.94.

[64] Commission for the Future and World Commission on Environment and Development. *Our Common Future*. [Australian edition] Oxford University Press. Melbourne. 1990. This publication is an Australian edition of World Commission on Environment and Development. *Our Common Future*. Oxford University Press. Oxford. 1987, otherwise known as the Brundtland Report.

[65] The report was published in Karen Alexander. "Environmental solutions to economic problems." *Conservation News*. vol.23. no.8. 1991. pp.2-3.

[66] Noted in Joseph Camilleri. "Multifunction Polis." *Rainbow Alliance Victoria Newsletter*. Author's collection. vol.3. no.1. 1990. p.3, and "Multi-Function Polis. A Japanese Hi-Tech City for Melbourne." [leaflet of notice and public meeting and background information] Author's collection. 1990.

[67] This development was signalled by the publishing of *A Tale of New Cities. Japan's Plans for Australia*. c.1989-90. This booklet was co-produced by Rainbow Alliance, Very Fast Train Working Group, Fast Train Polis Action Group, Gardiners Creek Valley Association, and Southern NSW Awareness Group, to oppose the multifunction polis proposals and associated developments in Australia.

early 1990. The aims of this national campaign included "giving Rainbow Alliance a coherent voice on issues of economic and social justice" and to "encouraging alliances with other groups sharing similar concerns".[68]

This campaign proceeded in cooperation with a series of interested parties including the New Left Party, Australian Democrats, and "various green groups and trade unions".[69] A process for producing a policy for the Work and Economy Campaign (later changed to Work and Economic Justice) was implemented in conjunction with discussion about various possible electoral strategies around which they could collaborate for promoting the forthcoming policy. Proposals included informal cooperation, fielding "a common slate of candidates", and preference allocation strategies.[70] In December 1991, the campaign was publicly launched, on the basis of an economic platform which:

> offers the prospect of employment that is available to all who wish to work, is ecologically sustainable, and protected by industrial awards.[71]

In mid-1992 a meeting initiated by the Victorian Rainbow Alliance ultimately saw the development of a position paper supported by the Rainbow Alliance, Western Australian Greens, Queensland Greens, New Left Party, Australian Telecommunications Employees Association/Australian Telephone and Phonogram Officers Association (Vic Branch) and the Electrical Trades Union (Vic Branch) and also the Australian Democrats.[72]

The participants in this campaign did not necessarily share the same goals for this campaign. They were united, however, by disenchantment with the direction of the Labor Party and

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[68] Rainbow Alliance Economic and Social Justice Campaign paper adopted at the 1990 Rainbow Alliance National Conference. Author's collection.

[69] As reported in the minutes of the Rainbow Alliance National Conference 1991. Author's collection.

[70] Noted in *Minutes of Meeting. 30 July 1990. The New Politics: Work and the Economy. A Coalition for a New Direction*. Author's collection. 1990.

[71] "Media release. Announcing a major political initiative. 'Work and Economic Justice': A new Direction for Australia". [one page media release] Work and Economy Campaign. Author's collection. 13 December 1991.

[72] Noted in "The new politics: Work and the Economy. A coalition for a new direction". Author's collection. 1990, a discussion paper following the 30 July 1990 meeting to form a nation-wide campaign, and "Media release. Announcing a major political initiative. 'Work and Economic Justice': A new direction for Australia". 13 December 1991.

subsequently, an interest in alliances on common ground. Meanwhile the opposition to the Gulf War had generated another opportunity for cooperation between these parties. The Rainbow Alliance nationally facilitated cooperation between it and the Australian Democrats, Tasmanian Green Independents, Western Australian Greens, and New Left Party, in conjunction with representation from a range of other countries.[73] This campaign saw the strengthening of alignments between parties with otherwise few links between them.

**Rainbow Alliance southeast Queensland and alignments**

The Rainbow Alliance in southeast Queensland also fostered a range of local alignments in the interest of co-operation and mass movement building. To some extent these alignments reflected the national alignment process guided by the interests of the social democratic ethos group. For instance, communication and cooperation was fostered between the Brisbane-based branches of the Rainbow Alliance and New Left Party. The New Left Party was invited to join the 1988 Community Action Team electoral campaign,[74] although they declined. However a series of joint seminars were convened over 1989, as "politics in the pub".[75] Moreover, the southeast Queensland branch of the Rainbow Alliance and the New Left Party ran a joint campaign to oppose the multi function polis proposal for the Gold Coast-Brisbane corridor. Following a discussion workshop in April 1990, they co-convened a June public meeting to generate public opposition to the multi function polis.[76]

Another alignment reflecting the national process was one between the Rainbow Alliance and the Australian Democrats. The Australian Democrats also were invited to join the 1988 Community Action Team electoral campaign. They too declined. Over the late 1980s several joint social functions were organised between the Rainbow Alliance and Australian

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[73] "Media Release. A major international initiative for peace in the Middle East". [one page media release, initiated by Rainbow Alliance] Author's collection. 19 August 1990.

[74] The contestation of the 1988 local government elections was discussed in Community Action Team. *Minutes 12/9/87*. Author's collection. 1987.

[75] "Politics in the Pub." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. January 1989. p.3.

[76] Rainbow Alliance. *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Minutes General Meeting 29 April 1990*. Author's collection. 1990.

Democrats members.[77] The interest of the Australian Democrats in this strategy arose to a large extent from their own purposes of dispelling what they considered a misapprehension about the Democrats: to show that they were not just another political party but also an activist organisation. To this end in Queensland, the Australian Democrats members were actively involved in the Gulf Action Coalition to oppose Australian military involvement in the gulf war.[78] They were also active in the Brisbane Peace Network which continued from the end of the Gulf War in early 1991 to September 1995.[79]

Alignments sought by the Rainbow Alliance in southeast Queensland also reflected the cross membership of the active members. Thus cooperation between groups including the Anti-Bases Coalition, Justice 88, and People for Nuclear Disarmament were fostered. Ironically, a major hindrance to gaining support for the Rainbow Alliance was that it was trying to recruit people who were already active and often over-committed.[80] Endeavours to interest the general population included sponsoring public addresses by prominent activists from other parts of Australia. For instance, Jo Vallentine, the Western Australian Nuclear Disarmament Party Senator, was the keynote speaker at a Rainbow Alliance fund-raising dinner in April 1987.[81] Another prominent speaker was Helen Caldicott, addressing a fund-raising dinner

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[77] The contestation of the 1988 local government elections was discussed in Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland. *Minutes 12/9/87*. Author's collection. 1987.

[78] Noted in list of participants in organising meetings for Gulf Action Coalition. Author's collection. [c.September. 1990].

[79] The Brisbane Peace Network was mainly supported by members of the Rainbow Alliance, New Left Party and Australian Democrats, as well as Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, House of Freedom, Non Violence Today, Waiters Union, and Peace Brigades International - noted in the *Brisbane Peace Network Newsletters* Author's collection, and "Brisbane Peace Network Underway." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. March 1991. pp.1-2. Background to the formation of the Brisbane Peace Network was also outlined in these publications.

[80] Most members were already active in other campaigns and organisations, including People Against Aircraft Noise, Global Learning Centre, Anti-Bases Coalition, Action for World Development, People for Nuclear Disarmament, Community Aid Abroad, Justice 88 - noted in Rainbow Alliance membership list revised versions from 1987-1992.

[81] "Senator Jo Vallentine's itinerary". *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. [c.March/April]. 1987.

convened by the Rainbow Alliance and the Paddington Peace and Environment Centre.[82] Peter Garrett, a former Nuclear Disarmament Party candidate was the key-note speaker at another dinner function.[83] There were also unsuccessful bids to start branches of the Rainbow Alliance in the Sunshine Coast region, heartland of the alternative community movement. There were some individual members from the alternative community movement. However there was never enough support for a group.[84]

In spite of the shared purpose between the dominant ethos group and the political green movement in building mass movement, there were tensions about what this meant and how it should be achieved.[85] As a state branch, members of the Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland participated in national policy and direction of the organisation. However direction and policy remained articulated within the intentions of the dominant ethos group in Victoria.[86] Their priorities were supported by some members in southeast Queensland. However the political green ethos group had a slightly different and conflicting ethos. Through the Rainbow Alliance the political green had sought a vehicle for continuing the project established in the Brisbane Green Party. To this end, the Rainbow Alliance was considered a part of the green movement. For instance, in the discussion paper, *Green politics in Australia and the Queensland Elections*, Drew Hutton identified four different

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[82] Rainbow Alliance. "Rainbow Alliance. Public function and dinner with Dr. Helen Caldicott". [Brisbane] [one page leaflet advertising the function, co-convened by Paddington Peace and Environment Centre and Rainbow Alliance for 27 November] Author's collection. 1987.

[83] Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland. "The Rainbow Alliance invites you to dinner with guest speaker Peter Garrett". Brisbane. [one page leaflet advertising dinner for 25 September] Author's collection. 1987.

[84] The Rainbow Alliance membership lists indicated there were very few members from the Sunshine Coast hinterland, in spite of attempts to recruit in this region. Attempts to recruit from this region included, for instance, an 'end of year picnic' organised by the Rainbow Alliance at the Crystal Waters community in the Sunshine Coast hinterland - noted in "End of year picnic at Crystal Waters". *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. September. 1988. u.p. In early 1989, a branch in Nambour almost formed after encouragement from the Brisbane Group, referred to in "Proposed changes to the Queensland structure". *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. February. 1989. u.p.

[85] See Chapter Six: Political Greens Re-Emerge for the common ground regarding the 'mass movement building' endeavour.

[86] As noted earlier, the Charter adopted at the Rainbow Alliance formation meeting in 1987 was a redraft of the initial discussion paper produced by Joseph Camilleri. The economic policy was based on the draft initiated outside the policy process of the Rainbow Alliance. National alignments initiated by the dominant ethos group in the Victoria branch were guided by their social democratic concerns. - see Chapter Seven: National Alignments and the Social Democratic Concerns.

streams within green politics in Australia.[87] These streams are nature conservationists, peace movement activists, marginalised greens, referring to the Sydney and Western Australian Green parties, and the Rainbow Alliance. He also mentioned the Tasmanian Greens and the Australian Democrats which did not fit into his typology. Of the Rainbow Alliance he states:

> Rainbow Alliance shares its movement character and hesitancy about elections with the conservation groups and its broad definition of green politics with the other greens.[88]

This identity as green was not uniformly shared nationally or even within the southeast Queensland branch.

This identity conflict was signalled early in the formation process of the Rainbow Alliance, with regard to its proposed name. The majority voted overwhelmingly for the name of the Australian Greens.[89] The group in Melbourne refused this name, concerned it would constrain the participation of other social actors:

> Some felt that Australia needed its own Green Party. Others argued that in the current Australian situation a broader political movement was needed which would fundamentally link ecological politics with other social issues without being perceived as just a bunch of 'greenies'.[90]

Subsequent alignment strategies indicate that the other actors who might have dismissed this initiative as 'just a bunch of greenies' were the left and trade union movement, with which the social democratic ethos group strongly identified.

The co-existence of these conflicting identities and purposes was possible because of the flexibility of the Rainbow Alliance organisational structure. It permitted extensive autonomy for state and local branches to develop policy and directions within the framework of the

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[87] Drew Hutton. "Green politics in Australia and the Queensland Elections." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. September. 1989. u.p.

[88] Drew Hutton. "Green politics in Australia and the Queensland Elections." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. September. 1989. u.p.

[89] This matter is noted in "What came out of the Melbourne Meeting'". *Minutes 9-10 National conference. October 1987*. Author's collection. 1987, and Rainbow Alliance. "A Name at Last!" *Rainbow Alliance Newsletter Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. October. 1987. In addition, the Rainbow Alliance formation papers (Author's collection) show that the proposed names for this initiative were very similar to those that were originally proposed for the earlier Brisbane Green Party.

[90] Boris Frankel. "The Rainbow Alliance." *Habitat*. June. 1988. p.33.

national agreements - which were deliberately kept broad and inclusive.[91] However tensions between the social democratic and green political ethos groups within the Rainbow Alliance were exacerbated by the impact of the growing green movement around Australia on its recruitment potential.

Over the history of the Rainbow Alliance, its membership predominated in Victoria but failed to substantially flourish else-where except in Brisbane. A major contributing factor for its failure in New South Wales, Tasmania and Western Australia was that a green political movement already occupied the political space it sought. In New South Wales there were a series of autonomous regional green parties, formed in the mid-1980s. Most of these parties were linked with urban issues, and had some success in local government elections.[92] In Tasmania, the Tasmanian Green Independents ran in the 1980 Tasmanian state elections to raise environmental issues. These campaigns were associated with the conservation movement. One candidate was successful in 1980. In 1989, five Green Independents won seats in the Tasmanian House of Assembly.[93] In Western Australia, the peace movement was comparatively strong, reinforced by the electoral success of the Nuclear Disarmament

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[91] This organisational arrangement is outlined in the "Provisional Structure". [charter and constitution of the national Rainbow Alliance] Author's collection. [c.1987].

[92] The formation of the Sydney Greens was convened by some expelled members from the ALP who had been involved in a 'green faction'. Their aim, following expulsion, was to form a Greens party, of "ecologists, environmental and residential activists, nuclear disarmers, dissidents from the Labor Party, feminists, socialists of all kinds, anarchists and alternatives, those inspired by the German Greens", on a platform of 'liberty, ecology, and disarmament" - "The Greens in Sydney". [Sydney] [one page leaflet advertising the inaugural meeting of what became the Sydney Greens] Author's collection. [c.1984]. By 1989, their platform was "ecological sustainability, social and economic equality, grassroots democracy, and disarmament/non-violence" - "The Greens Party". [Sydney] [leaflet] Author's collection. 13 October 1989.

This green initiative and the Rainbow Alliance were, however, at odds with each other right from the start. A letter from Tony Harris to the Sydney Greens, dated 14 March 1987, expressed annoyance from the Sydney Greens towards the Sydney Rainbow Alliance group, because their members had not been permitted to attend the Rainbow Alliance meetings on the grounds that they were members of "simply another conventional political party". Author's collection. The Rainbow Alliance flourished poorly in New South Wales while the Greens became stronger. By the mid-1990s, the New South Wales Greens, now part of the Australian Greens, had 17 of their candidates elected to local governments throughout New South Wales, including New Castle which saw three Greens elected. Another Green candidate was elected in the 1995 New South Wales state elections to the House of Assembly - "Around the Nation". *Greenline*. Author's collection. October/November. no.14. 1995. up.

[93] Graham Maddox. "Political stability, independents and the two party system". *Current Affairs Bulletin*. vol.69. no.1. 1992. pp.21-22. Bob Brown played an important role as an informal leader, beginning with his involvement in the campaign to prevent the flooding of the Franklin River. His involvement in this campaign is discussed in James McQueen. *The Franklin: Not Just a River*. Penguin Books. Ringwood, Victoria. 1983.

Party in getting Jo Vallentine elected to the Federal Senate in 1984. Following movement re-organisation in that state and the collapse of the Nuclear Disarmament Party, in 1989 Senator Vallentine became a Senator for the Western Australian Greens. The Western Australian Greens involved many previous members of the Nuclear Disarmament Party.[94] These parties shared Australian Electoral Commission registration of the name Green, initially registered by the New South Wales groups in 1989. Thus right from the start in New South Wales, Tasmania, Western and South Australia the Rainbow Alliance was set apart from the green political movement.

As discussed in Chapter Five, the political green movement sought alignments for the Brisbane Green Party consistent with building the green movement. This strategy was continued through the Rainbow Alliance in several ways. The Community Action Team promoted the sustainable communities project by fostering alliances with the residents movement. In 1989 the green political movement gained endorsement from the Rainbow Alliance to stand a green candidate in the Queensland state elections.[95] This reflected the continuing identification of the political green movement with the broader Australian green movement. These preoccupations were a source of tension both within the southeast Queensland branch and with the Victorian social democratic ethos group. However the Victorian Rainbow Alliance endeavoured to accommodate them. For instance, the Queensland Rainbow Alliance Sustainable Communities campaign was adopted nationally: the Kit was distributed and various urban forums convened.[96]

Not all members of the southeast Queensland Rainbow Alliance branch were interested in

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[94] Jo Vallentine, along with Peter Garrett and others in a leadership role, walked out on the Easter 1985 Conference of the Nuclear Disarmament Party - see Adam Fararr, A. "Life beyond the fragments." *Australian Left Review*, no.106. 1988. pp.21-25 and Adam Fararr. "Gathering together the fragments." *Australian Society*, February. 1988. pp.22-24. Also, Freney discusses the breakdown of the Nuclear Disarmament Party - Dennis Freney. "The Democratic Socialist Party: Raiders of the left ark". [c.1991-92]. Freney made a copy available to Malcolm Lewis, a member of the Queensland Greens Working Group, during the period of debate about a national green electoral initiative.

[95] See Chapter Six: Political Greens Regroup. Also, Rainbow Alliance applied for and gained affiliation status with Queensland Conservation Council in April 1990 - "Minutes of General Meeting." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. April 1990.

[96] See Chapter Six: Political Greens Endeavour to Influence Urban Debate.

electoral activity, and did not necessarily identify strongly with the greens.[97] For instance, endorsement of the Community Action Team Rainbow Alliance candidates was at best luke warm on the part of some members of the Rainbow Alliance.[98] The Rainbow Alliance as a vehicle for the political green movement was proving increasingly problematic for its participants. From the lead-up to the 1989 election campaign tensions within the Rainbow Alliance and other parts of the green movement emerged, in Queensland and nationally. The interest by some members in Rainbow Alliance to campaign as greens and engage in electoral strategies was contentious in the national organisation and in the Queensland branch. With some reluctance it was agreed to provided certain conditions were met.[99]

These tensions, however, ultimately contributed to the demise of the Rainbow Alliance in southeast Queensland. The political green movement found a new constituency with which to mobilise around their green electoral strategies.[100] The Queensland Rainbow Alliance collapsed in 1993, with much of its membership supporting the political green electoral initiatives. Meanwhile the political green movement had the advantage of the cooperation and alignments made through the Rainbow Alliance over the several years of its activity.

## QUEENSLAND GREEN ELECTORAL ALIGNMENTS

This section addresses consolidation of the green movement in southeast Queensland in relation to electoral campaigning initiatives. An alliance strategy aiming to enhance

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[97] In a letter to the Rainbow Alliance, one member raised concerns about the tension between those in that branch who identified with the green movement and those who did not - "A letter by Jim Sharp to the general meeting." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. August. 1989. pp.15-16.

[98] See Chapter Six: Political Greens Re-Emerge.

[99] Noted in "Teleconference Report." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Newsletter*. Author's collection. vol.2. no.5. 1989. pp.4-5. This issue was addressed to some degree through establishing some ground rules for electoral interventions for individual branches of the Rainbow Alliance. These ground rules were adopted at the 1990 Rainbow Alliance National Conference as the policy on *Electoral Intervention*. Author's collection. [1990]. The ground rules included regular consultation with the rest of the Rainbow Alliance and abiding by the Charter and policies of the Rainbow Alliance.

[100] This is discussed in Carol Dowling. "Rainbow Alliance and the Queensland Greens." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. April. 1991. p.1. A social meeting of the Rainbow Alliance was convened to discuss the future of this branch since many members had joined the Queensland Greens - "Open, serious discussion at May meeting." *Queensland Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. June. 1992. p.1.

cooperation across the green movement is the focus. Attention is drawn to the conflicting purposes of the participants in these initiatives, some of them only recently identifying as green actors, as well as the grounds for cooperation. The section shows that competition to control the platform and purpose of the electoral initiatives was increased by the need to form a common platform and to establish organisational boundaries. Another factor increasing competition was contestation about the relationship between the political wing and the rest of the green movement.

**broad green movement cooperation**

A public meeting was convened on 24-25 February 1990 by the Queensland Conservation Council in Brisbane, inviting interested green movement participants in Queensland to a discussion about building broad support for contesting the federal elections.[101] It was attended by members of many organisations, including the Rainbow Alliance, Democratic Socialist Party, People for Nuclear Disarmament, Queensland Development Education Centre, Australian Conservation Foundation, Wilderness Society, and Queensland Conservation Council, as well as from other social justice, peace, and nature conservation groups.[102] From this meeting came agreements to contest the 1990 federal and the 1991 local government elections. There was also an agreement to form an on-going organisation to facilitate cooperation across the green movement in electoral and non-electoral strategies, named the Queensland Green Network.[103] What distinguished the ensuing federal election campaign from the previous state election one was that it was organised from, and supported by, a substantially wider support base within the green movement. A major factor in the timing of this initiative was the changing political climate, notably a changed perspective on the Labor Party by many of its supporters in the green movement.

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[101] This meeting pre-empted Rainbow Alliance plans to campaign around the 1991 local government elections - noted in "General Meeting Minutes 19/11/90". *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. January. 1990.

[102] Elizabeth Eddy. "Green Conference Feb 24-25." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland*. Author's collection. March. 1990. p.2.

[103] *Queensland Green Network Newsletter*. May. no.1. 1990. page 2. Also discussed in Eddy. "Green Conference Feb 24-25." 1990. p.2.

The February 1990 public meeting followed close on the heels of the Queensland state elections in late 1989. In spite of reluctance by many green movement participants to contribute to a conservative party election victory, continuing support for the Labor Party had been increasingly problematic. While the Labor Party required the green vote to win elections, green movement demands were not necessarily met. As indicated in Chapter Six, the conservation movement rapidly became critical of the new Goss Queensland Labor Government. Thus the broad movement representation at this meeting, and the agreements made, suggested an apparent convergence of interests in the green movement. It also indicated the endeavour to form a more coherent electoral campaigning organisation at local, state, and national levels, under the auspices of the green movement.

There were concerted strategies within the Queensland Green Network to produce solidarity. The campaigns and platform were aimed at encouraging inclusivity, to accommodate the concerns and priorities of all parts of the aspiring green movement participants, as well as providing an appropriate basis for mass public support. To this end the platform for the Queensland Green Network was based on the widely supported German Greens platform, for the achievement of "social and economic equality, grassroots participatory democracy, and peace, nonviolence and disarmament".[104] In addition a range of contemporary issues were singled out, including:

> aid and development, Aboriginal and Islanders' rights, citizens' action, education, nature conservation, ethnic & women's rights, politics, peace, social justice, unions, urban renewal etc in an effort to gauge the level of support for the consolidation of a Network to link up the common 'threads' of these movements,[105]

representing the specific and general preoccupation of the participants. The Queensland Green Network was open to all interested persons regardless of party or other organisational affiliation. A Charter was endorsed, which established the Queensland Green Network as a loose coalition of individuals and organisations.[106]

Moreover, the rationales for the federal election campaign reflected diverse approaches to

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[104] *Queensland Green Network Newsletter*. Author's collection. no.1. May 1990. p.1.

[105] *Queensland Green Network Newsletter*. Author's collection. May. no.1. 1990. p.2.

[106] Queensland Green Network. *Charter of the Queensland Green Network*. Author's collection. [c.1990]. u.p.

electoral strategies. These rationales ranged from a pragmatic preference strategy to a criticism of the party system:

> This campaign had several aims. These included raising green issues and forcing them onto the election agenda as well as registering some of the protest vote against the major parties. Part of this strategy has been to refuse to direct second preferences to the Labor Party so they will no longer be complacent about getting the Green vote while doing little to earn it. In addition it was to form part of a longer term strategy to provide a voice for those who feel disenfranchised from political power by the limits of our current political system.[107]

Choice of candidates also reflected the broad social base of this green movement initiative. For instance, one of the House of Representatives candidates was a prominent member of a regional conservation organisation while the other was a member of the Democratic Socialist Party, a left-wing cadre-party.[108] For the Green Alliance campaign, convened to contest the 1991 Brisbane City Council elections, fourteen candidates were endorsed including three from outside the Brisbane local government electorate. Many of the eleven Brisbane candidates were from organisations including the Democratic Socialist Party, Sandgate Wetlands and Melaleuca Protection Society, Australian Democrats, Rainbow Alliance, Socialist Party of Australia, one from the urban movement and another from the conservation movement.[109]

There was a degree of urgency behind the apparent cooperation, as discussed in Chapter Six. Moreover, there was a tentative basis for cooperation already established. For instance, the southeast Queensland green movement experienced increased density, through the increasing identification with the green movement by a wider range of movement actors. The political green movement had contributed to this through their mass movement building strategies in the Brisbane Green Party and then the Rainbow Alliance 1988 local and 1989 state government election campaigns.[110] However, another factor which aided cooperation

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[107] Eddy. "Green conference." p.2.

[108] Craig Hardy, a prominent member of the Capricornia Conservation Council, was endorsed to contest the seat of Capricornia, and Coral Wynter from the Democratic Socialist Party to contest the seat of Forde - "House of Reps Campaign." *Queensland Green Network Newsletter*. Author's collection. May no.1. 1990. p.3.

[109] Green Alliance. *List of Candidates*. Author's collection. [c.1991].

[110] See discussion above, also Chapters Five and Six.

amongst this diverse green movement participants was the experience of the campaign to oppose Australian military involvement in the Gulf War.

The Gulf Action Coalition formed in August 1990, following a "teach-in" convened by People for Nuclear Disarmament. The Coalition was formed to protest against Australia's military involvement in the Gulf War.[111] The campaign was supported by the traditional left including the Democratic Socialist Party (formerly the Socialist Workers Party) and the Socialist Party of Australia, the Communist Party of Australia and New Left Party, various non-aligned left individuals, and the International Socialists Organisation. Supporters from the contemporary movements included peace and social justice organisations such as the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, the Quakers, People for Nuclear Disarmament, Rally For Peace, Action for World Development, Joint Church Social Justice group, Secure Australia Project, Anti-Bases Coalition, Global Learning Centre, and Rainbow Alliance, and some participants from the conservation movement. It was also supported by the Palestinian Association of Australia.[112] This was an important campaign for fostering collaboration between participants and groups which did not usually identify with each other at a time when green issues were increasingly present on the public agenda.

However, the united front of the campaigns and the rhetoric of the *Queensland Green Network Newsletter* disguised tensions between constituent parts of this green momentum. These tensions ended up in the collapse of the Queensland Green Network in 1992. Underlying the tensions in this political green political movement was a power struggle over who controlled the meaning of green, and the role of the electoral campaigning.

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[111] "Gulf Action Coalition Formed." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. October. 1990. p.1 and "Brisbane Peace Network Underway." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. March. 1991. pp.1-2 - they note the end of Gulf Action Coalition in February 1991, coinciding with the invasion of Iraq by US troops. Also background to the campaign was noted in various leaflets such as the Gulf Action Coalition. "Arab Culture Day". [Brisbane] [advertising leaflet for October 13 1990] Author's collection. [c.1990].

[112] List of participants in the early organising meetings of the Gulf Action Coalition. Author's collection. [c. August 1990].

**conflicting green agendas**

The initiative for the pivotal February meeting in 1990 had come from some members of the conservation movement.[113] As discussed in Chapter Six, the conservation movement faced a strategy problem. The Labor Party was the major party most sympathetic to their demands. Now they were in office it was ironically more difficult for the conservation movement to gain their cooperation. Moreover the Federal Labor Government had also given cause for grievance by 1990. Green Challenge campaigns, organised by some conservation organisations, were problematic under these circumstances. The Labor Party was likely to respond more positively than the other major parties to the concerns raised in the Green Challenge questionnaires.[114] Neither the Australian Democrats nor the green independent candidates were capable of winning government. These issues were raised at the 1990 annual conference of the Queensland conservation groups, convened by the Queensland Conservation Council in Rockhampton. They discussed the failures of the ALP and had already considered alternatives such as the Australian Democrats.[115]

However participation on a broad green alliance strategy was not uniformly accepted in the conservation movement. No formal endorsement was given to the Queensland Green Network candidates, and participation in the Network was on the basis of individual rather than group membership. In addition, the Wilderness Society and Australian Conservation Foundation chose to run a joint marginal seats campaign throughout Australia, including Moreton and Fisher in Queensland. The goals of this campaign were:

> to maximise the Green vote, to ensure environmental issues retain a high profile, and to have elected the most environmentally sensitive government.[116]

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[113] *Queensland Green Network Newsletter*. Author's collection. May. no.1. 1990. p.2.

[114] While in Opposition the Labor Party formed links with the conservation movement over the 1980s in Queensland (and nationally). Apparent support for conservation movement concerns was signalled by the positive responses given by the Labor Party, in comparison with the National and Liberal parties, to the Green Challenge questionnaire campaign which was organised by the conservation movement for the 1989 elections - see Green Challenge campaign in Chapter Three: Ousting the National Party Government.

[115] These issues were noted in the agenda and discussion papers of the Queensland Conservation Movement Annual Conference, held in Rockhampton, April 1990. Author's collection.

[116] John Ridgeway "ACF/TWS election campaign." *Queensland Green Network Newsletter*. Author's collection. May. no.1. 1990. p.4.

This campaign targeted the marginal seats and encouraged a vote for the major party with the best environmental policy. The Queensland Green Network meeting endorsed this marginal seats campaign, mainly as a goodwill gesture as their endorsement was not needed for it to proceed. In both instances, however, the goal for conservation movement participants was pragmatic - to use electoral pressure to gain concessions from the state and federal governments, through preference allocation strategies. On the other hand, they were reluctant to break ties with the Labor Party, as the only other party capable of winning government, the Liberal-National Coalition federally and Nationals in Queensland, were even more hostile to their concerns. On the other hand, Craig Hardy's Broadsound campaign was well-supported by the regional conservation group of which he was a member. His campaign focused upon a range of regional issues, including transportation, Shoalwater Bay sandmining, education, alternative taxation systems and defence.[117]

Individuals with dual membership in other groups and organisations were also present at the February 1990 meeting of the Queensland Green Network. Some individuals from the Rainbow Alliance became members of the Queensland Green Network, particularly those with prior interest in green electoral campaigns.[118] There were also several minor political parties involved in the Queensland Green Network election campaigns. One was the Australian Democrats.

The Australian Democrats were in a difficult position with regard to the emergence of electoral initiatives from the green movement. They had a lot at stake, especially the risk of losing their presence in the Federal Senate to a green candidate. They had expressed concern about their electoral fortunes when the Brisbane Green Party formed in 1984. They drew attention to the current tensions at a federal level between themselves and the newly formed Nuclear Disarmament Party. The Australian Democrats urged the Brisbane Green Party to cooperate rather than compete with them, in the lead-up to the 1985 Brisbane City Council

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[117] Craig Hardy. "Capricornia. House of Reps campaign." *Queensland Green Network Newsletter*. Author's collection. May. no.1. 1990. p.3.

[118] See above, Chapter Seven: Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland and Alignments, regarding lack of uniform interest by members of the Rainbow Alliance in electoral strategies and the green movement.

elections.[119] The Queensland Green Network offered both an opportunity to increase grassroots support for their party, as well as to foster a basis for cooperation should a coherent green electoral organisation emerge.

Several other minor left political parties were also involved, to the consternation of the more conventionally-oriented participants such as members of the Australian Democrats and the conservation and urban movements. While the Australian Democrats were concerned that green candidates might undermine their electoral success, the New Left Party, Socialist Party of Australia, and the Democratic Socialist Party considered it an opportunity address their own electoral weakness. The Queensland Green Network offered the potential for alignments suitable to their purposes, within the auspices of the increasingly popular green identity. For the New Left Party, involvement in the Queensland Green Network continued their intention to form alliances with others of similar persuasion. As indicated earlier in this chapter, the New Left Party had an environmental policy which focused upon "a sustainable and livable environment".[120]

The Democratic Socialist Party also had a mission to work within other movements, with the central aim of recruiting for the Party under direction from the leadership.[121] Previously named the Socialist Workers Party, the name was changed in 1989 to the Democratic Socialist Party. The name change was instituted largely as a response to its notoriety

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[119] For evidence of Australian Democrats concerns about the formation of the Brisbane Green Party, see Elizabeth Allen. "Democrats Seek Green Link". *Courier Mail*. Brisbane. 26 November 1984. p.9. Concerns by Australian Democrats about the formation of the Rainbow Alliance was apparent in the meeting in March 1987 between Australian Democrat Senator Michael Macklin and some members of the Rainbow Alliance. Senator Macklin suggested that 'greens' (referring to the Rainbow Alliance and its supporters) should join the Australian Democrats en mass rather than compete with them, and "transform it from within" - discussed in "Notes on general meeting of the Rainbow Alliance 07.03.87". *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. [c.March/April] 1987.

[120] New Left Party. *A Changing World. A New Response*. [c.1990].

[121] The constitution of the Democratic Socialist Party specifies that an obligation of membership in the party is "to be loyal to the aims of the party, to reject any conflicting political loyalty, to place all their political activity under the direction of the party" - Democratic Socialist Party. "Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Party". Author's collection. [c.1989]. Article 4, Paragraph 2a.

throughout the movements for its attempts to take-over organisations and movements.[122] Many were critical of the role the Socialist Workers Party played in the demise of the Nuclear Disarmament Party. Since the early 1980s the Democratic Socialist Party had endeavoured to gain a foothold in the growing green movement throughout Australia. For instance, the Democratic Socialist Party (then the Socialist Workers Party) was involved with the formation of the Sydney Greens in 1984.[123] In Brisbane, the Democratic Socialist Party had supported the Community Action Team as the first step in gaining acceptance as part of the green movement in Queensland. The name change of their newspaper from *Direct Action* to *Green Left Weekly* (in 1991) also indicated this strategy.[124] Involvement by the Democratic Socialist Party in the Queensland Green Network was not uniformly acceptable to all other participants. While some people remained cynical about the motives of the Democratic Socialist Party, others defended their involvement. However the experience of cooperative campaigning in the Gulf Acton Coalition allowed this conflict to remain dormant for a while.

The federal election campaign, by 1990, achieved votes of 10.58% for Capricornia, and

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[122] For instance, see Fararr who discusses the purported destructive role of the Socialist Workers Party/Democratic Socialist Party in the demise of the Nuclear Disarmament Party and in the Charter Process to form the New Left Party, and the reluctance by the initiators of what was eventually named the Rainbow Alliance to allow permit membership - see Fararr. "Life beyond the fragments." 1988. pp.21-25 and Fararr. "Gathering together the fragments." 1988. pp.22-24. Also, Freney produced a paper outlining his version of the (destructive) role of the Socialist Workers Party/Democratic Socialist Party over the 1980s - Freney. "The Democratic Socialist Party: Raiders of the left ark". [c.1991-92].

[123] The Democratic Socialist Party provided a speaker on the Green Politics forum which initiated the 'political green organisation in NSW' - Sydney Greens. "The Greens Party". [Sydney] [leaflet] Author's collection. 13 October. 1989.

[124] There was some suspicion about the intentions of the Democratic Socialist Party, even from others in the left. This was evident in discussion about two newspaper proposals. While the Democratic Socialist Party was canvassing for support for their 'new left newspaper' another publication proposal was also under discussion, initiated by the Communist Party of Australia. Commentators noted that the second proposal, unlike the one by the Democratic Socialist Party, would "share editorial control widely" - "New National Left and Progressive Newspaper." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter*. Author's collection. December. 1990. u.p. The Democratic Party launched the *Green left Weekly* with the claim that it was not under the editorial control of their organisation. Critics of this claim proposed that the *Green left Weekly* had remained under Democratic Socialist Party editorial control. For instance, one commentator claimed that the Democratic Socialist Party were using 'their' *Green Left Weekly* editorial control to attack Drew Hutton, in order to influence the outcomes of the discussion about a national green electoral initiative - for instance, Malcolm Lewis. 1991. "A National Greens." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland*. Author's collection. [c. July] 1991. u.p.

1.55% for Forde.[125] Following this election campaign the Queensland Green Network convened the campaign to contest the 1991 local government Council elections. On 24-25 November 1990 the *Greens in Local Government* Conference was held in preparation for the election campaign. The name Green Alliance was chosen in solidarity with other similar electoral initiatives in other parts of Australia, and also to help generate a more united front to the public.[126] A series of seminars on local government and urban issues were convened in preparation for the election campaign, and in hope of attracting participants in the residents movement. For instance, a seminar run jointly by David Enwicht from Citizens Advocating Responsible Transport and Drew Hutton was convened in early 1990, called "Putting Green Issues on the Agenda". This seminar agreed to "make links" with the Urban Coalition.[127] Two following seminars involving speakers from the Urban Coalition were convened, the first addressing the Urban Coalition discussion paper, *A Better City*,[128] while the other in September 1990 was called Traffic in Brisbane.[129] The Green Alliance campaign endorsed 14 candidates, including three from outside the Brisbane local government electorate. These candidates achieved the following electoral results: mayoral primary vote 8%, Kianawah 26%, Paddington 17%, The Gabba 16.6%, Taringa 15%, Spring Hill 12.1%, The Gap 12.1%, Kalinga 12% Breakfast Creek 11%, McDowell 11%, and Fairfield 11%.[130] While none of these results brought the Green Alliance close to winning office, it represented a broad base of support from the community.

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[125] "House of Reps Campaign." *Queensland Green Network.* p.3.

[126] For instance, in New South Wales there were several autonomous Green parties. They coordinated their activities, particularly federal election campaigns, through the Green Alliance in the late 1980s - New South Wales Green Alliance. "Notice of a NSW Green Alliance Meeting. 23/4/91". [Sydney] [one page leaflet] Author's collection. 1991. The Victorian Green Alliance was started in late 1989, "to promote grassroots campaigns and activities" and "to promote election to the Senate or to the House of Representatives candidates which are endorsed by the Green Alliance" - Victorian Green Alliance. "Structure - Green Alliance meeting - 16/12/89". [Melbourne] [one page leaflet] Author's collection. 1989 and Green Alliance. "Green Alliance. Draft policy guidelines. Building a green alternative". [Melbourne] [three page leaflet] Author's collection. [c.1989]. Both based their platform of the German Greens 'four principles', referring to various ways of expressing issues of environment and sustainability, social and economic justice, participatory democracy, and peace and non-violence, as did the Brisbane Green Party.

[127] "What happened. QGN seminar. Sat June 23." *Queensland Green Network Newsletter.* Author's collection. no.2. 1990. p.3.

[128] *Queensland Green Network Newsletter.* Author's collection. no.2. 1990. p.1.

[129] *Queensland Green Network.* Author's collection. vol.1. no.3. 1990. p.1.

[130] "Report on last RA general meeting." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter.* Author's collection. April. 1991. p.2.

The candidates' campaigns for the 1990 federal election and 1991 local government Green Alliance campaigns were largely self-funded and organised relatively independently of each other. The candidates ran on a variety of current issues, often constituency-related such as of concern to the conservation movement and in Brisbane to the residents movement.[131] To some extent the degree of autonomy reflected the comparatively undeveloped organisational infrastructure. However, it also reflected a recognition of the diversity of the participation in the Queensland Green Network. Accordingly a large measure autonomy for the candidates was permitted, to appeal to the constituencies with which they identified and could gain support. However these otherwise diverse campaigns were held together by the common platform of principles and a broad policy package.[132]

Another means of presenting a united front for these campaigns, and to enhance the basis for solidarity was evident in the choice of spokesperson. Drew Hutton was the spokesperson for both campaigns. He also ran as the mayoral candidate in the 1991 Brisbane City Council elections.[133] He had public credibility arising from his long term high profile in various movements, including the peace, civil liberties, green electoral initiatives, and more recently the conservation and residents movements.[134]

These developments indicated the growing solidarity and identity within the political green movement. However, following the federal and local government election campaigns, existing tensions exploded between the Democratic Socialist Party and some other green

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[131] These issues were apparent in the campaign leaflets for Forde 1990, Capricornia 1990, and campaign materials for the Green Alliance Local Government Elections campaign as a whole. Author's collection.

[132] The common platform was outlined in Queensland Green Network. *Queensland Green Network Policies*. Author's collection. [c.1990], Green Alliance. *Green Alliance Policies. c.1991*. Author's collection, and throughout the *Queensland Green Network Newsletter*.

[133] Noted in *Queensland Green Network Newsletter* and Green Alliance campaign materials.

[134] Chapter Five: A New Mass Movement Building Strategy (footnote) indicated that Drew Hutton had a long history of involvement in the peace and civil liberties movements since the late 1960s. Chapter Five also shows that in the 1980s he was central to the formation of the War Resisters' League, the Brisbane Green Party, and the revival of Citizens for Democracy. While a member of the Rainbow Alliance, Hutton made strong links with the residents movement, particularly with prominent members of Citizens Advocating Responsible Transport and the Urban Coalition, and for several years in the late 1980s and early 1990s was a member of the Executive of Queensland Conservation Council. He ran as a candidate in several local, state, and federal elections as first a Brisbane Green Party candidate, then as a candidate for the Community Action Team, then as a Green Independent. He often was spokesperson for these organisations and campaigns.

movement participants members who were suspicious of the Party's motives in the green movement. These tensions had laid low during the election campaigns but at the close of the campaign they flared up within the Queensland Green Network. The catalyst was developments which took place over 1990 and 1991 in the national green movement arena. From this emerged a long and conflictual process to form national green political party. This debate reflected a struggle for control over the green political movement agenda and purpose by some parts of the green movement including those newly identifying with it. The following section addresses this national debate and the organisational repercussions for the green movement nationally and in southeast Queensland.

## QUEENSLAND AND AUSTRALIAN GREENS

This section addresses further developments in the green electoral alliance strategy in southeast Queensland, with reference to the national context which was increasingly significant to these developments. Attention is drawn to the conflictual process from which a coherent electoral organisation was formed. The section first focuses upon debate in the Queensland Green Network about the formation process of a national green electoral initiative, rekindling debate precipitated at the Together Conference. The formation process of the Queensland and Australian Greens is then addressed, with reference to this national context of conflict within the green movement. The section concludes by focusing upon the national and regional alignments fostered by the formation and character of the new political parties of the green movement.

### rekindled debate about national green electoral vehicle

Against a background of national debate within the green movement initiated at the Getting Together Conference, debate flourished in the Queensland Green Network about a national green political vehicle. Two main positions and constituencies emerged in the Queensland Green Network, linked to national alignments which had consolidated since the Getting Together Conference. Underpinning the debate were two central issues - the relationship of the proposed green electoral initiative to the wider green movement and the organisational

structure of such an initiative.[135]

One major position in the debate was articulated by members of the Democratic Socialist Party and their supporters. They argued in favour of a national electoral network, similar to the structure of the Green Alliance in Victoria and New South Wales.[136] Concomitant with this strategy was an anti-proscription policy, meaning that members of other political parties would be free to join as members of these autonomous parties. This strategy of decentralisation was defended on the grounds of preserving the autonomy of local groups, and to avoid any participant in the green movement being excluded because of party affiliations. The other major position of the debate was articulated by the political green ethos group and supporters. They argued in favour of proscription of those already in political parties, and for a more nationally coherent party organisation which balanced local autonomy against state and federal coordination.[137] These positions reflected the division represented at the Getting Together Conference by the Green Party Electoral Strategy Group and the Greens Network Group.[138] Moreover these two positions reflected two directions taken following the Getting Together Conference, to establish a national green electoral organisation.

In the Queensland Green Network, the political green ethos group, particularly Drew Hutton, had formed alignments with Bob Brown from the Denison Greens, Senator Jo Vallentine from the Western Australian Greens, and other interested individuals associated with these

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[135] The future of the proposed national green electoral initiative was debated in the *Greens Policy and Networking Forum*, until the Australian Greens formed in August 1992 - *Greens Policy and Networking Forum*[Electronic mail conference. Opened 3 September 1989. Subscribers only. http://peg.pegasus.oz.au. Availability negotiable through the Queensland Greens. http://www.peg.apc/~qldgreens/welcome.html] In addition, a package of personal and organisational correspondence was compiled and distributed by Lisa McDonald, a member of both the Democratic Socialist Party and Western Suburbs Greens (Sydney), dated 30 May, 1991.

[136] This position was consistent with their strategy since the early 1980s, to infiltrate the growing green movement. For further information about the Democratic Socialist Party, see Chapter Seven: Conflicting 'Green' Agendas.

[137] This division is clear in the various discussion papers, minutes of Queensland Green Network, the later Australian Greens Working Group, and the Queensland Greens. Author's collection.

[138] There were separate reports from these working groups, with conflicting proposals - Getting Together Conference. *Getting Together. Transcripts, Outcomes and Contacts from the Easter Conference 1986*. Author's collection. [c.1987] pp.18-19 - see Chapter Seven: Repercussions of Two Conferences.

people. These links had been strengthened at the Getting Together Conference, mainly through the Green Party Electoral Strategy Group which all had attended. Since 1986 they had maintained contact with each other, and took up discussion about a national green electoral strategy in more earnest through a series of informal meetings in 1990-91.[139] Their hope was to contribute to the formation of a national organisation capable of mounting successful electoral campaigns at all three levels of government throughout Australia. They felt that the network of autonomous groups was not an appropriate method of organisation to achieve this. A proscription policy was favoured which would exclude members of other political parties. They were also interested in gaining the support of the conservation movement for this proposed organisation, throughout Australia. At this time, while the Tasmanian Green parties had strong links with the conservation movement, the other green parties and green electoral groups had little connection.[140]

At a national level, the network approach was supported by the New South Wales Green parties, and the Western Australian Greens. Jo Vallentine did not have unanimous support for her position. After she resigned from Parliament in 1992,[141] Christabel Chamarette took her place as Greens Senator. The replacement Senator supported the network strategy. The New South Wales and Western Australian Greens had strong ideological commitments to a network strategy.[142] In practice they rejected an organisational structure which might undermine the autonomy of the local Green Parties in any way. Participants in these parties did not want to see a more organisationally coherent national green political organisation emerge. Moreover, the New South Wales Greens already had their own plans about a national meeting. A New South Wales Green Alliance meeting scheduled for early May was

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[139] Hine refers to the participants in these discussions as 'sponsors' who acted in the absence of an organisational forum through which to initiate national meetings on the national green electoral initiative - Doug Hine. "Reporting greens political developments". **Greens Policy and Networking Forum.** [Closed access forum of the Australian Greens and state Greens Parties. Topic 128. Response 1] 8 August. 1991.

[140] For background to the various green parties, refer to Chapter Seven: Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland and Alignments (including footnotes).

[141] Background to the replacement of the Greens Senator was outlined in "Greens Senator Christabel Chamarette." *Greenline*. Author's collection. vol.1. no.2. 1992. p.3.

[142] Noted in "Green political network. Founding conference". 9-10 September. [Sydney] [two page information leaflet and registration form] Author's collection. [c.1984], and in background discussion about the New South Wales Greens and the commitment to "grassroots nature of organising and decision-making" - "The Green Alliance in Melbourne". Melbourne. [one page leaflet] Author's collection. 13 October. 1989.

convened to consider the formation of "a national Green organisation".[143]

However another reason for the support given the network approach hinged on the involvement of the Democratic Socialist Party in the green movement. As stated earlier, the Democratic Socialist Party had targeted the green movement for involvement around Australia. Many were members of the New South Wales and Western Australia Green parties. The Democratic Socialist Party did not favour the formation of a national organisation because of the association of this proposal with the proscription policy which would see them excluded from membership. To enable their continued participation in the proposed national green electoral organisation, they supported the alliance and network strategies.[144] To defend this position the Democratic Socialist Party publication, *Green Left Weekly*, mounted political and personal attacks against the three prominent green movement activists who supported a more organisationally coherent electoral organisation and a policy of proscription. They targeted what they referred to as the self-appointed convenors, referring to the informal discussions by Bob Brown, Drew Hutton, and Jo Vallentine and others.[145]

This national arena had repercussions for debate in the Queensland Green Network. Those in favour of proscription were seen as persecuting the Democratic Socialist Party, and trying to control who was green, while the so-called convenors saw themselves as acting in good

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[143] New South Wales Green Alliance. "Notice of a NSW Green Alliance meeting". [Sydney] [one page leaflet] Author's collection. 23 April 1991.

[144] This position by the Democratic Socialist Party is discussed by Malcolm Lewis. "A National Greens." *Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland*. Author's collection. [c.July]. 1991. Also see *Greens Policy and Networking Forum* between 1990 and 1992 - *Greens Policy and Networking Forum*. [Electronic mail conference. Opened 3 September 1989. Subscribers only. http://peg.pegasus.oz.au. Availability negotiable through the Queensland Greens. http://www.peg.apc/~qldgreens/welcome.html].

[145] For example, McDonald and Fletcher who were members of the Democratic Socialist Party published an article with this claim in the *Green Left Weekly* as well as posting it on the Green Policy and Networking Forum - Lisa Macdonald and Karen Fletcher. "Top-down agenda set for green party". **Greens Policy and Networking Forum.** Response 1 [Electronic mail conference. Opened 3 September 1989. Subscribers only. http://peg.pegasus.oz.au. Availability negotiable through the Queensland Greens. http://www.peg.apc/~qldgreens/welcome.html] 6 August. 1991. These issues are also raised in a package of material compiled and distributed by Lisa McDonald, dated 30 May, 1991, "with the aim of encouraging and facilitating a well-informed and comprehensive discussion of the issues involved", in relation to the national green electoral initiative. Author's collection.

faith by having informal discussions and speaking to many people in their home states.[146] This was seen as an exclusive and secret process by those not involved. For instance there were claims that this Melbourne Group were self-declared convenors who were hand-picking participants while claiming the process was going to be broad-based. On the other hand, the registered Green parties had gained control of registration of the Green name with the Australian Electoral Commission in the late 1980s, without Australia wide green movement debate and discussion. The power of these parties to control who could legally call themselves green was considered unfair and undemocratic by those currently unregistered. This conflict was exacerbated by the fact that there was no national decision-making structure within the green movement to resolve this issue.[147]

A meeting of the Queensland Green Network in June 1991 in Brisbane was dedicated to resolving this debate. It was attended by about 40 people representing a variety of environmental and community groups and minor political parties, including the Australian Democrats, Democratic Socialist Party, New Left Party, and the Socialist Party of Australia, and by a large representation from members of the Rainbow Alliance. The majority at the meeting agreed on a proscription policy for proceeding with organising a national green electoral organisation. This agreement was supported by members of the New Left Party and Australian Democrats amongst others, and rejected by the Democratic Socialist Party and their supporters. The Australian Greens Working Group was established from this meeting,

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[146] The invitation to the proposed 18-19 May 1991 meeting notes that the organisers viewed their activities as a series of 'informal discussions'. This meeting did not proceed, but was re-convened with a broader base of participation in August 1991. This role by the organisers is also stated by Hine, who refers to them as 'sponsors' - Doug Hine. "Reporting greens political developments". **Greens Policy and Networking Forum**. Response 1 [Electronic mail conference. Opened 3 September 1989. Subscribers only. http://peg.pegasus.oz.au. Availability negotiable through the Queensland Greens. http://www.peg.apc/~qldgreens/welcome.html] 8 August. 1991.

[147] The Australian Electoral Commission controls party name registration. Complications for the national green electoral initiatives arose when several claimants to the 'green' name were thwarted by the Sydney Greens who had registered it for their own use in the late 1980s. The Tasmanian Greens, for instance, were unable to gain registration of the name 'green' for their candidates for the for the 1990 elections - even though they already had 'green' parliamentarians. As conflict about the future of the national green political initiative flourished in the early 1990s, so did conflict about registration of the name. This was signalled, for instance, in "Making History". *Greenline*. Author's collection. October. no.5. 1992. p.3, and Pat Brewer. "Two camps in the greens". **Greens Policy and Networking Forum**. [Electronic mail conference. Opened 3 September 1989. Subscribers only. http://peg.pegasus.oz.au. Availability negotiable through the Queensland Greens. http://www.peg.apc/~qldgreens/welcome.html] 27 August. 1991.

to further the formation process of a national green electoral organisation.[148]

The aim of the Australian Greens Working Group, established at the June 1991 Queensland Green Network meeting, was:

> to recommend to all interested groups and individuals that a national conference to establish a unified national Green Party, which proscribes membership of other existing political parties, go ahead and be held in about November this year.[149]

The first meeting of the Australian Greens Working Group, in late June 1991, established a strategy for the party building process. The process was an open invitation to interested groups and individuals to attend a national conference with the aim of building a national organisation. Members of existing political parties were permitted to be observers with no voting rights.[150] The courtesy being extended to the political parties referred to the Australian Democrats, the New Left Party, Democratic Socialist Party, and the Socialist Party of Australia - all minor parties which had been involved in the green political movement to date. The purpose was to develop good working relationships, and also to see if members from these parties could be persuaded into changing their party allegiance and joining this process. The Australian greens Working Group continued to meet regularly on that basis over the rest of 1991.

## formation of the Queensland and Australian Greens

In spite of the resolution of this debate in the Queensland Green Network, the national arena of debate about a national electoral strategy continued along the same lines of argument.[151] While negotiating Australia-wide about the potential for forming a national organisation, the

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[148] "QGN supports green party formation." *Queensland Green Network Newsletter*. Author's collection. July. 1991. p.2.

[149] "QGN supports green party formation." 1991. p.2.

[150] "QGN supports green party formation." 1991. p.2 - this item quotes the resolution made at the first Australian Greens Working Group meeting on 19 June 1991.

[151] This debate continued through the Greens policy and Networking Forum. For instance, Hegge outlines the background to the debate in Marit Hegge. "In defence of a green party". **Greens Policy and Networking Forum.** [Electronic mail conference. Opened 3 September 1989. Subscribers only. http://peg.pegasus.oz.au. Availability negotiable through the Queensland Greens. http://www.peg.apc/~qldgreens/welcome.html] 10 September. 1991.

Australian Greens Working Group established the Queensland Greens in September 1991, as the first step towards this.[152] This was a small meeting, involving the political green movement ethos group and some others from the Queensland Green Network. At this meeting, Drew Hutton was chosen as the convenor. This meeting also adopted a draft charter, entitled Principles and Objectives, and constitution. The charter was based substantially upon the earlier green political movement material. It outlined a series of principles consistent with the German Greens preamble, and some issues and concerns expressed earlier by this movement. The structure of the party endeavoured to maintain substantial local autonomy of branches without losing the capability for state coordination of state and federal campaigns. The constitution embodied a proscription policy. The public launch for the Queensland Greens was held in November 1991, with Senator Jo Vallentine as guest speaker.[153]

The Queensland Greens at this time was Brisbane-based. However by the first conference, held in Rockhampton in April 1992, there was representation from throughout Queensland.[154] From this conference and over the following twelve months, branches were endorsed in the Far North, Rockhampton, Byfield, Yeppoon, Sandgate/Redcliffe, Inner Brisbane, Toowoomba and the Gold Coast, followed over the next year with branches endorsed in the Whitsundays, Sunshine Coast, and Ipswich.[155] Notably, prominent participants in regional conservation organisation were well represented at the first State Conference of the Queensland Greens, and this support grew as branches began throughout Queensland. While there was no formal affiliation or support by the conservation organisations for the Queensland Greens, many prominent Brisbane-based conservationists

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[152] A joint formation meeting was co-convened in Rockhampton -"Queensland Green Party formation". [leaflet] Author's collection. Brisbane. 22 September. 1991.

[153] "Our time has come." *Greenline*. Author's collection. vol.1. no.1. 1992. p.1.

[154] This is indicated in the attendance records and minutes of the inaugural conference - "Attendance Record of Queensland Greens Conference 10-12 April 1992". Author's collection. 1992, and *Minutes of State Conference April 1992* Author's collection. 1992. This issue is also raised in a report of this conference - "First Conference Bodes Well for the Future." *Greenline*. Author's collection. vol.1. no.3. 1992. p.1.

[155] Noted in *Greenline* and Queensland Greens State Council Meeting Minutes throughout this period. Author's collection. By 1993 branches were also starting up in Atherton, South Brisbane, Morningside, Bayside, Mt Nebo, and Logan City - "Branching Out." *Greenline*. Author's collection. no.8. 1993.

became involved.[156] This interest was fuelled largely by the disenchantment with the Queensland Labor Government, discussed in the previous chapter. Thus the new green electoral organisation had achieved a stronger alignment with the conservation movement through the Queensland Greens, than was achieved through the Rainbow Alliance campaigns. However, the attempts to form a branch of the Queensland Greens in the Sunshine Coast, the heartland of the alternative community movement in southeast Queensland, initially proved as fruitless as earlier attempts by the Rainbow Alliance. While the Green Alliance contested the 1991 local government elections as a coalition of groups, parties, and individuals, independent candidates from the alternative community movement conducted their campaigns separately. [157]

From the first state conference of the Queensland Greens in 1992 was organised a policy production process. The aim was to produce policy which both responded to current issues on the public agenda and articulated the issues of concern to the major progressive movements. These policy areas included: environment, economic, taxation and income, education, housing, Aboriginal and Islander issues, gender, health, local government, foreign investment, regional planning, public health and safety, and law reform. These policies were based substantially upon those of existing organisations. This conference also agreed to run candidates in the up-coming 1992 state election campaign, and also the 1993 federal elections.[158]

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[156] Membership list of the Queensland Greens. [This list was up-dated regularly] Author's collection.

[157] One candidate, Jill Jordan, was elected to the Caloundra City Council 1991-94 with the aim of community development and enhancing prospects for 'ethical' employment. Jill Jordan had been a resident in the area since 1971, and a moving force behind the consolidation of the alternative community movement in that region. She had been involved in the establishment of the LETS scheme, local food cooperative and the community credit union. Herman Schwabe has been an independent on the Caloundra City Council continuously from 1982, and in 1992 contested the Queensland state elections as an independent. Both drew substantial support from the alternative community movement. While there was some communication between these candidates and the Brisbane-based green electoral campaigns, Schwabe and Jordan, and other green candidates in the Sunshine Coast and hinterland region, chose to run as independents representing local issues. Background to these politicians and the alternative community movement campaigns were discussed in movement material, including *Maleny Co-operatives. A Review*. Author's collection. Spring. vol.3. no.3. 1992. pp.3-4, and Alan Kershaw. "The bartered bride." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. (reprinted from the *Bulletin*) Author's collection. 2nd Quarter. vol.1. no.2. 1990. pp.12-13. However one participant from the Maleny region did attend the April conference of the Queensland Greens - noted in the list of participants attached to Queensland Greens. *Minutes of State Conference April 1992*. Author's collection. 1992.

[158] Queensland Greens. *Minutes of State Conference April 1992*. Author's collection. 1992. Also discussed in *Greenline*. Author's collection.

Prior to, and following the formation of the Queensland Greens, the conflictual process to form the Australian Greens continued. A national body, the Australian Greens Steering Committee, was convened to coordinate this process. The debate about the two strategies flourished in the lead-up to a national meeting convened for June 1991 in Sydney. This meeting was conflictual and inconclusive, the debate still focusing upon the structure of the electoral organisation and the proscription issues.[159] A meeting convened in 17-18 August 1991 fared little better. This was a delegated meeting, negotiated beforehand through the Australian Greens Steering Committee. Participants included delegates from the Tasmanian Greens, the Queensland Greens, most of the New South Wales Green Parties, and also some delegates from Canberra and Victoria.[160] The meeting was made more divisive by the gate-crashing of three Democratic Socialist Party members in spite of the policy of proscription. This meeting achieved little although it did signal some repositioning in the debate. At this meeting the alliance strategy proponents had divided into those willing to consider a more formal arrangement, and those committed to the loose alignment with a no-proscription policy.[161]

However, following this relatively unproductive meeting, negotiations continued between some participants, while others dropped out of this process.[162] According to one

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[159] This conflict was noted in minutes of the Australian Greens Working Group 19 June 1991 through to 18 September 1991, then continued to be recorded in the minutes Queensland Greens meetings from 16 November 1991 to 8 April 1992. It was also noted in *Greenline* and in a report by a Queensland Greens delegate on the Australian Greens Working Group - Malcolm Lewis. "Queensland Report on the National Process". Author's collection. [c.July] 1992. u.p. The presence of this conflict was also apparent in a package of material compiled and distributed by Lisa McDonald, a member of the Democratic Socialist party and Western Suburbs Greens, dated 30 May 1991. Author's collection, and in the *Green Policy and Network Forum* [Electronic mail conference. Opened 3 September 1989. Subscribers only. http://peg.pegasus.oz.au. Availability negotiable through the Queensland Greens. http://www.peg.apc/~qldgreens/welcome.html].

[160] "Invitation to a meeting towards the formation of a national greens organisation. National Greens Meeting". [one page leaflet] Author's collection. 9 July. 1991.

[161] According to a report from the Queensland delegation to the Australian Greens Working Group, those remaining committed to a loose alliance were mostly those with a significant Democratic Socialist Party membership - Australian Greens Working Group. *AGWG Up-date*. Author's collection. [c.late August] 1991. u.p.

[162] For instance, debate between Paul Fitzgerald from the Western Australian Greens and Malcolm Lewis of the Queensland Greens represented both poles in this conflict - Paul Fitzgerald. "Top-down, bottom-up or belly-up". *Greens Policy and Networking Forum*. [Electronic mail conference. Opened 3 September 1989. Subscribers only. http://peg.pegasus.oz.au. Availability negotiable through the Queensland Greens. http://www.peg.apc/~qldgreens/welcome.html] 27 August. 1991, and Malcolm Lewis. "Response by M. Lewis to P. Fitzgerald. So-called 'tight network' model". *Greens Policy and Networking Forum*. [Electronic mail conference. Opened 3 September 1989. Subscribers only. http://peg.pegasus.oz.au. Availability negotiable through the

participant, by 1992:

> it appears that the organisation attempting to advance this loose network model had unravelled due to lack of support and lack of organisational coherence. [163]

The common ground seemed to be a confederation of parties which would comprise a national body.[164] However it was not until August 1992 that the process to form an Australian Greens, often floundering, finally succeeded. Following a successful National Conference in August 1992, the Australian Greens was officially launched in Sydney. This meeting had formal representation from the Queensland Greens, the Tasmanian Green parties, and some New South Wales Green Parties. Also in attendance was a representative from Western Australia Greens, who limited herself to observer status only, and some observers from Victoria and Canberra.[165]

A Charter and constitution were adopted, subject to amendment and ratification by participating state-based green parties. The proscription issue was finally resolved in favour of proscription. The structure issue was partially resolved through the compromise of a confederation of state-based groups. The Charter and Constitution were based substantially upon the one produced for the Queensland Greens.[166] A media release from this meeting stated that the newly formed Australian Greens would field candidates at the forthcoming Federal election. The release claimed that the Greens provided an alternative to the major

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Queensland Greens. http://www.peg.apc/~qldgreens/welcome.html] 27 August. 1991.

[163] Malcolm Lewis. "National Green Party imminent." *Greenline*. Author's collection. vol.1. no.1. 1992. p.2.

[164] Malcolm Lewis. "Queensland Report on the National Process". 1992. u.p.

[165] Some background to the formation process, and this meeting specifically, was outlined in Drew Hutton and Malcolm Lewis. "The Way is Clear for Australian Greens." *Greenline*. Author's collection. vol.1. no.4. 1992. p.1, and in *National Conference of the Greens. 29-30 August. Minutes*. Author's collection. 1992. These minutes list the New South Green Parties as the Inner West, Illawarra, Central Coast, Newcastle, Eastern Suburbs, Richmond/Clarence, Inner West, South Sydney - and from Tasmanian, the Braddon Greens and Denison Greens. The Braddon and Denison Greens were the two largest green parties to form from the Green Independent campaigns around 1989-90, in preparation for the 1990 federal elections. These green parties then formed the Tasmanian Greens in preparation for membership in the forthcoming Australian Greens - discussed in "Preamble". *The Tasmanian Greens. Proposed Constitution. Working Draft No.2. June 1992.* Author's collection. 1992.

[166] Malcolm Lewis. "Queensland Report on the National Process". [1992] u.p. Note also that the registered parties had also based their Charters, independently of each other, on the German Greens. So agreement on a Charter was not particularly difficult.

parties, and was part of the international rise of Greens in many other countries.[167]

However the confederation compromise did not manage to gain unanimous support from the delegates. Western Australia declined formal association but agreed to cooperate with the Australian Greens.[168] Moreover, some of the pre-existing Green parties also declined to join, notably the South Australian and some New South Wales parties, many of them dominated by Democratic Socialist Party members. This created a complex legal situation with regard to the control of the Green name federally, and was a source of continuing tension both within the green political movement and between the Australian Greens and the Electoral Commission. Thus the debate about the character of the proposed national electoral organisation was rendered more acute by conflict over who could, and should, control the allocation of the green name for green electoral initiatives.[169] For instance a report to the Queensland Greens State Council Meeting in July 1992 notes:

> A few individuals in WA [that is, Western Australian Greens] are still stuffing around about deregistration of DSP [Democratic Socialist Party] controlled "Green Parties" and are stuffing up the smooth extending of related party status to us and the Tasmanian Greens. We have already taken steps to bypass this block to our registration.[170]

Within a year, branches of the Australian Greens had also formed in Victoria and Canberra. The Canberra organisation developed from the ex-members of the Australian Democrats.[171] The Victorian branch however was initiated by prominent participants from the conservation

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[167] Australian Greens. *Media Release. 30 August 1992. The Greens.* [one page media release] Author's collection. 1992.

[168] Jo Vallentine had resigned and Christabel Chamarette replaced her as Senator and in these negotiations - *National Conference of the Greens. 29-30 August. Minutes.* Author's collection. 1992. Western Australian Greens held a plebiscite about joining the Australian Greens. A decision against joining was made, subject to review at a later date - "National Greens News." *Queensland Greens Members Bulletin.* Author's collection. December. 1992.

[169] See Chapter Seven: Rekindled Debate about National Green Electoral Vehicle (footnote).

[170] "Report. National registration to Queensland Greens." *State Council Minutes. July 25. 1992.* Author's collection. 1992. This conflict is discussed in *Greenline* and Queensland Greens State Council Minutes over 1992 and 1993. Finally, Australian Greens gained access to registration of the Green name - Malcolm Lewis. "State and Federal Registration". *Greenline*. Author's collection. vol.1. no.4. 1992. p.4.

[171] They had moved from the failed Rainbow Alliance, then to the Australian Democrats - noted in the ACT Report in Minutes of the Rainbow Alliance National Conference 1991. Author's collection. 1991. Then, several formed the Canberra Greens - interview with Tony Roberts on 10 December 1994. He was member of the Canberra Rainbow Alliance 1990-92 and of the Canberra green movement 1990-1995.

movement through the Victorian Greens Steering Committee, and not from the Green Alliance.[172] A major impetus behind the involvement by the Victorian conservation movement, which had previously showed little interest, was the increased disappointment with the Federal Labor Party. The conservation movement was vehemently opposed to the resource security legislation proposed in 1989, and dissatisfied with the Ecologically Sustainable Development (ESD) project initiated by the Federal Labor Government in late 1990. Frustration mounted with the introduction of the Resource Security Act introduced in April 1991. In response, the Australian Conservation Foundation Executive voted only by a narrow margin to stay in the ESD process.[173]

The national green electoral organisation, the Australian Greens, was formed effectively in competition with the Rainbow Alliance in Victoria. As early as 1990 the Victorian Rainbow Alliance had proposed its own national electoral strategy. Through the Work and Economy campaign, an electoral alliance and the fielding a "a common slate of candidates" had been proposed for discussion amongst participants in the campaign.[174] The Victorian Rainbow Alliance continued to establish itself in opposition to the growing electoral green movement, even when much of its membership joined the new Victorian Greens. In early 1992, for instance, a discussion paper drafted by the (Victorian) Rainbow Alliance Working Group proposed political strategies for 1992-93 incorporating mass mobilisation, electoral intervention, education and skilling, and coalition-building. Regarding electoral intervention, another proposal was that the Rainbow Alliance field some candidates in the forthcoming 1993 federal elections.[175] By 1992, the Rainbow Alliance branch in southeast Queensland had lost much of its membership to the Queensland Greens. The green ethos group by this time identified more strongly with the Queensland and Australian Greens than with the

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[172] For instance, the Greens Party initiative in 1989 sought to emulate the Sydney Greens, focusing upon the their 'grassroots nature of organising and decision-making' and the platform of 'ecological sustainability, social and economic equality, grassroots democracy - disarmament/non-violence' - noted in "The Green Alliance in Melbourne". [one page leaflet] Melbourne. Author's collection. 13 October. 1989.

[173] Mark Diesendorf. "Reclaiming the ecologically sustainable development project process." 1992. p.3.

[174] *Minutes of Meeting. 30 July 1990. The New Politics: Work and the Economy. A Coalition for a New Direction* [discussion paper] Author's collection. 1990.

[175] Rainbow Alliance Working Group. "Politics on the Move. A Political Strategies proposal for 1992." *Rainbow Alliance Victoria Newsletter*. Author's collection. vol.5. no.1. 1991. pp.7-10, and succeeding newsletters for further developments.

Rainbow Alliance.

The proscription policy of the Australian Greens had repercussions for the involvement of the Democratic Socialist Party in the green movement. The Democratic Socialist Party had counted on their involvement in a green national organisation for the realisation of their party's goals, as indicated by the tenacity with which they defended the alliance strategy and their claim of being legitimate green movement participants. This was less of an issue for the New Left Party and Australian Democrats as they were committed to strategies of cooperation with other non-electoral and electoral organisations should common ground be established. The New Left Party had been less successful in its membership drive than was anticipated. Meanwhile, in Queensland some prominent members of the New Left Party resigned in order to join the Queensland Greens. By 1992 it was apparent to organisers of the New Left Party that it would not prosper as hoped. By 1995 the New Left Party had been renamed the Left Connection, relinquishing its role as a party in favour of a networking role.[176]

Over the 1980s the Australian Democrats were willing participants in alignment with the Rainbow Alliance as well as a range of other groups such as the Gulf Action Coalition and the Brisbane Peace Network. They participated in the 1991 local government election campaign under the auspices of the Green Alliance. Moreover the Australian Democrats had a track record of support from the conservation movement, particularly for federal elections. However the proscription policy had precluded cross participation in the Australian Greens and state-based groups by the Australian Democrats. The vagaries of the electoral system thus contributed to a competitive relationship between them, in spite of the earlier history of co-operation. For instance, in the Queensland Green Network debate, the Australian Democrats (and New Left Party) had, ironically, supported the proscription policy and the process to form a national green electoral party. During the formation period of what eventuated as the Queensland and Australian Greens the Australian Democrats engaged in informal discussions with those involved in the process, to sound out the potential for

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[176] Frank Stilwell. "Rethinking, reconstruction and renewal". Robert Leach. ed. *The Alliance Alternative in Australia. Beyond Labor and Liberal*. Catalyst Press, Left Bookclub Co-operative Ltd. Annandale, New South Wales. 1995. 96-100.

cooperation or even a merger.[177] The relationship of the Queensland and Australian Greens had been a subject of discussion in the electoral strategies of these parties.[178] Without the formalisation of cooperation such as preference swapping agreements between the Australian Democrats and the Australian Greens, the electoral system would continue to foster competition between them.[179]

## CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This chapter has shown that 1990 was a watershed year in the southeast Queensland green movement for the process to form a national green electoral organisation. However what is significant about this development is the alignments, and re-alignments, it facilitated. The Queensland Green Network and Queensland Greens gained the support of only a part of the green movement, and did not represent the green movement as a whole. Nonetheless, the formation of the Queensland Green Network and the Queensland Greens was a significant contribution to the consolidation of the green movement in southeast Queensland. As stated above, the political green movement had finally achieved its ambition to gain significant participation of the conservation movement in their electoral strategies. In the case of the Queensland Green Network, the federal and local government campaigns brought together a range of actors prepared to cooperate within the auspices of the green movement.

The Queensland Greens differed from earlier electoral strategies initiated by the green

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[177] A report on the July and August 1991 meetings which failed to form an Australian Greens refers to discussion on the national process to form a national green electoral organisation. The possibility of a merger with the Australian Democrats was raised, but it was considered to be premature - Australian Greens Working Group. *AGWG Update*. Author's collection. [c.September] 1991.

[178] For instance, Hutton produced a discussion paper about strengths and weaknesses of an alliance with the Australian Democrats, as the relationship between the two was under consideration in the Australian and Queensland Greens - Drew Hutton. "A Green-Democratic Alliance?". *Greenline. Members Bulletin*. Author's collection. June. 1993. u.p.

[179] As noted in earlier chapters, the Democrats had indicated concern about the potential for electoral competition with respect to the formation of the Brisbane Green Party and the Rainbow Alliance. The Australian Democrats had consistently sought 'cooperation' to avoid competition. However, with the formation of the Queensland and Australian Greens, competition did indeed develop. In the 1993 federal election campaign, a Greens senate ticket ran in competition with the Australian Democrats. The Democrats won the Senate seat. Meanwhile Cheryl Kernot, leader of the Australian Democrats has expressed criticism of the Greens, claiming they were 'naive and inexperienced' - see "Ean Higgins. "Greens vie with the Democrats." *The Australian*. 23 February. 1993. p.3, and "Greens are not to be sniffed at." *Sunday Mail*. 22 August. 1993. p.56.

movement in southeast Queensland, in that it was a state-based organisation, with branches throughout the major regional centres of Queensland. The Queensland Greens also provided an organisational forum of appeal to a wide range of green movement participants. It also provided a forum through which the quite different green agendas could be negotiated, through the policy-making processes which were established at its formation meeting. As member groups of the Australian Greens, the participants in the Queensland Greens could participate with other parts of the green movement around Australia in electoral strategies and policy-production.

However the outcomes of debate about the character of the proposed national green electoral organisation contributed to the exclusion of potential participants, especially those involved in existing political parties. Meanwhile, however, involvement with the Rainbow Alliance and then the Queensland Green Network fostered communication and cooperation. Whatever the future of the electoral wing of the green movement, increased density had been achieved though the process to form a national electoral organisation. The next chapter considers the extent to which this consolidation resulted in the establishment of common ground within the green movement in south east Queensland, in terms of the environmental projects.[180]

[180] In 1995, a renewed endeavour to forge an alliance between the left, greens, Australian Democrats, and other progressive social forces was signalled by a new publication in 1995, Robert Leach. *The Alliance Alternative in Australia. Beyond Labor and Liberal*. Catalyst Press, Left Bookclub Co-operative Ltd. Annandale, New South Wales. 1995. Contributing authors included Drew Hutton from the Greens, Cheryl Kernot and Tony Walters from the Australian Democrats, Jim Falk from the democratic socialist ethos group of the Rainbow Alliance, Frank Stilwell from the now-defunct New Left Party, amongst others.

# Chapter Eight

## ENHANCED ENGAGEMENT

The thesis has shown, so far, that from the green movement in southeast Queensland three distinct environmental projects formed, each characterised by the failure to engage successfully with the social and political social order. This is discussed in Part B, with reference to the conservation, alternative community, and political green movements. Part C, Chapters Six and Seven, addressed green movement consolidation endeavours over the late 1980s and early 1990s regarding the problems of lack of engagement. These chapters indicated the urgency behind these endeavours, and the relationship between the green movement in southeast Queensland and the green movement throughout the rest of Australia, in a changing political and institutional context. Following from these chapters, this chapter considers the results of movement consolidation in improving the efficacy of the green movement, measured in terms of capacity for engagement.

Two conceptual themes form the basis of this chapter. The first is the notion of engagement, in relation to the role of movements in social change. This role is generally indirect, as "movements pave the way for social transformations mainly by *challenging and de-legitimising* established social orders".[1] Engagement involves the success of a movement in establishing a bridge between its fundamental critique of the social order and the dominant discourse informing dominant institutions and social practices. The aim of engagement is innovation, however containment and accommodation are likely results.[2] This chapter accordingly considers the extent to which engagement has developed, in relation to innovation, containment and accommodation.

The second conceptual theme for this chapter concerns the persistence of the three

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[1] Jan Pakulski. *Social Movements. The Politics of Moral Protest*. Longman Cheshire: Melbourne. 1991. pp.82-83.

[2] See Chapter Two: Movement Efficacy for explanation of these terms and their significance.

environmental projects and green movements, notwithstanding the outcomes of the regional and national movement consolidation process. Accordingly, the three green movements are addressed separately in this chapter, linked by the focus upon the relationship of each movement with the electoral wing of the green movement in terms of their distinct environmental projects. The chapter shows that, ironically, the consolidation around what eventuated as electoral strategies and the eventual formation of the Queensland and Australian Greens reinforced the persistence of these movements and accordingly, their associated projects. In spite of this development, the chapter also shows that each part of the green movement made some advances in enhancing engagement in relation to their environmental projects.

The first section addresses the alternative community movement. This movement became effectively disenfranchised from the national consolidation process following the Getting Together Conference, as the process became dominated by debates about a national green electoral vehicle. This section indicates the basis of this disenfranchisement in relation to the priorities and concerns of this movement. The remainder of the section addresses the changing focus of the alternative community movement in relation to the meaning attributed to community, signalled in Chapter Four. Increasingly *cooperation* has emerged as the principal basis for community, expressed through the predominance of the co-operatives legal structure as the basis of their alternative institutions. This section shows that this development has substantially contributed to the character of engagement achieved by the alternative community movement. The material used for this section has been largely drawn from the recent publication, *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review* (later named *Maleny Cooperatives. A Review*). This periodical provides background information to developments in the alternative community movement in southeast Queensland. More significantly, this information is presented within the terms of reference of the movement participants, what these developments meant to them.

The conservation movement is addressed in the second section. This section indicates that the interest by the conservation movement in a green electoral vehicle is subordinate to another priority. This priority, which is central to their environmental project, is to participate in the planning and consultation policy instruments, established during the reform

processes of the local, state, and federal levels of government. The section shows that engagement has been achieved to some degree, in relation to the governments' purported commitment to ecologically sustainable development. It has also been achieved to some degree through joint projects between the conservation organisations, business and union interests, and in some instances the government agencies. This section has focused upon the meanings and purposes attributed by the conservation movement to their own activities, with reference to commentary, newsletters, and reports from the movement.

The final section addresses the green political movement. It shows that the Queensland (and Australian) Greens became, in this specific instance, the praxis of the political green movement's environmental project. Attention is drawn to the similarities between the charter of the Queensland greens and earlier charters formulated by the political green movement through the 1980s, in relation to their environmental project. It also indicates the basis upon which the Queensland Greens provided the mass movement building vehicle, which is central to their aim of political transformation for the achievement of a 'just, humane, and ecological society'. This section emphasises the meanings attributed to the role and function of the Queensland greens by the political green movement, in contrast to a more functionalist account of the party in the conventional political system. The difference between the two are posed, in this section, as the key to the character of the engagement which has been achieved.

## THE ALTERNATIVE COMMUNITY MOVEMENT AND ENGAGEMENT

This section addresses the alternative community movement in southeast Queensland. It first accounts for the virtual exclusion of the alternative community in southeast Queensland from the green movement consolidation initiatives of the Brisbane movement, and the nation-wide debate about a green electoral vehicle. This section also accounts for the tentative electoral involvement of the alternative community movement initiated in that region in virtual isolation from the rest of the green movement. The remainder of the section focuses upon the principal activities of the alternative community movement. These activities reflect the growing emphasis upon co-operatives to address the expression of the rustic ideal and deal with a range of economic viability issues. This section also addresses the grounds upon which

these activities constituted enhanced engagement with the dominant social order.

**grassroots activism and electoral campaigns**

The alternative community movement throughout Australia supported the Getting Together Conference. However, the movement failed to be involved in the movement consolidation initiatives which followed it.[3] The lack of interest in these initiatives can be largely explained in terms of the conflicting purposes between these initiatives and the project of the alternative community movement.

One reason for the lack of interest in a national organisation was the *local focus* of the alternative community movement. For the alternative community movement, locality and regionalism were central to their project of building community. Personal and community power were seen in part as derived from face to face contact and familiarity with each other, in a community based on mutual aid, cooperation, and responsibility. For instance, in a report from the Maleny and District and Community Credit Unions, it was noted that most of the (few) defaulters were from outside the region. It was stated that this vindicated the emphasis upon a *local* co-operative, where there was more trust and a stronger sense of responsibility towards the good of the community.[4] Thus the participants in the movement were not very interested in invitations to join state or national organisations.

Another reason for the lack of interest in the national consolidation was the domination of this process by debate by electoral strategy initiatives. The notion of *praxis,* central to the rustic ideal of the movement, conflicted with the notion of participation in political parties and electoral alliances. The focus of action for participants in this movement was in 'doing for oneself'. For instance, a periodical produced by this movement reproduced a quote from

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[3] Chapter Six: Two Conferences shows the initial support for the Getting Together Conference from the alternative community movement. Chapters Six and Seven show the failed attempts by Rainbow Alliance to establish branches in the Sunshine Coast and hinterland and to gain support for the Community Action Team, 1989 Green Independent campaigns, and membership in Queensland Green Network. They also show the very tentative cooperation with the Green Alliance 1991 and Queensland Greens 1994 local election campaigns.

[4] "A Short History". *Maleny Co-operatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 1st Quarter. vol.1. no.1. p.3.

Schumacher about the importance of this, in relation to employment and work issues. Under the heading of Healing Unemployment, the quote refers to the need to attend to the "in-born creativity of all people" - the failure to do so "poisons" human relationships and would "inevitably destroy society":

> It is the essence of all our times that communities should start NOW to lead their people to self-reliance, work enjoyment and creative opportunities. This is a thing that cannot be ordered or organised from the top. We cannot look to bureaucrats of Governments to unleash this creative power. It is a job which we can only LOOK TO OURSELVES.[5]

A disdain for national bodies was apparent in the organisation of the Australian Association of Sustainable Communities. As a group of decentralised autonomous groups who "cooperated", none could speak on behalf of another or the movement in general.[6]

Moreover the concerns of the alternative community movement were specific to their own project of sustainable lifestyles. As outlined in Chapter Four, these concerns were generally legal, regulatory, and financial - the issues which constrained their efforts to build an enduring community.[7] These issues continued to be major concerns and largely influenced the direction of the movement in the 1980s and early 1990s. Political activity by this movement was thus geared to address concerns which impinged upon, or hindered, their community building endeavours. Electoral campaigns were accordingly organised to respond on a local level to local issues.[8] A Sunshine Coast branch of the Queensland Greens was formed in time to contest the 1993 federal elections. However, the 1994 local government

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[5] "Healing Unemployment." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 2nd Quarter. vol.1. no.2. 1990. p.5.

[6] The reluctance to allow participants to represent the interests of the entire movement extended also to invitations from the government for representation on working groups - see Chapter Four: Economic Viability.

[7] As the communities became more established they increasingly ran afoul of legislative and regulatory requirements. Accordingly, it became increasing necessary to either conform to these requirements or to change the rules. Also capitalisation and employment issues were increasingly important. See Chapter Four: Redefining Community and Economic Viability.

[8] Jill Jordan was elected to the Caloundra City Council 1991-94 with the aim of community development and enhancing prospects for 'ethical' employment. Herman Schwabe has been on the Caloundra City Council continuously from 1982, and in 1992 contested the Queensland state elections as an independent. Both were well supported by the alternative community movement - see *Maleny Co-operatives. A Review*. Author's collection. Spring. vol.3. no.3. 1992. pp.3-4.

elections saw a return to the practice of supporting, rather than endorsing, candidates. That is, the Sunshine Coast branch campaigned for independent candidates who were not bound by the Queensland Green charter, constitution, or policies. This practice signalled the continuing preoccupation with the local, and with the specific concerns of the alternative community movement. [9]

The main direction for the community building endeavour was, however, towards establishing co-operatives. Cooperatives assumed increasing importance in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s.[10] This focus on co-operatives was reflected in the production of a periodical, beginning in 1990, to aid in the establishment of co-operatives and to service existing ones. The periodical, *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review* (its name was changed to *Maleny Cooperatives. A Review* in early 1991) was started in Maleny when several co-operatives participants decided "to co-operate together".[11] The significance of the co-operatives to the alternative community movement was clear in the imagery on the front cover of the first edition of the newsletter. Through the imagery of a tree, the cooperatives and related initiatives were depicted as grounded in, and nourished by, the communities (see diagram 9).

The rest of this section examines the increased dependence upon the establishment of co-operatives to express the rustic ideal of sustainable lifestyles. It shows that co-operatives satisfied many of the criteria of the ideal of sustainable lifestyles while providing a legal basis for the organisational structures and some credibility with public authorities and private agencies.

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[9] This practice of supporting rather than endorsing candidates was not confined to the Sunshine Coast branch. Those branches more strongly based in the conservation movement tended to endorse candidates for local government elections. Those more strongly connected with the alternative community movement tended to prefer a more independent approach to local government elections, and thus supported local candidates.

[10] See Chapter Four: Economic Viability.

[11] "Editorial." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 1st Quarter. vol.1. no.1. 1990. p.2.

# Maleny Co-operatives

A QUARTERLY REVIEW

Volume 1, Issue No. 1 1st Quarter 1990

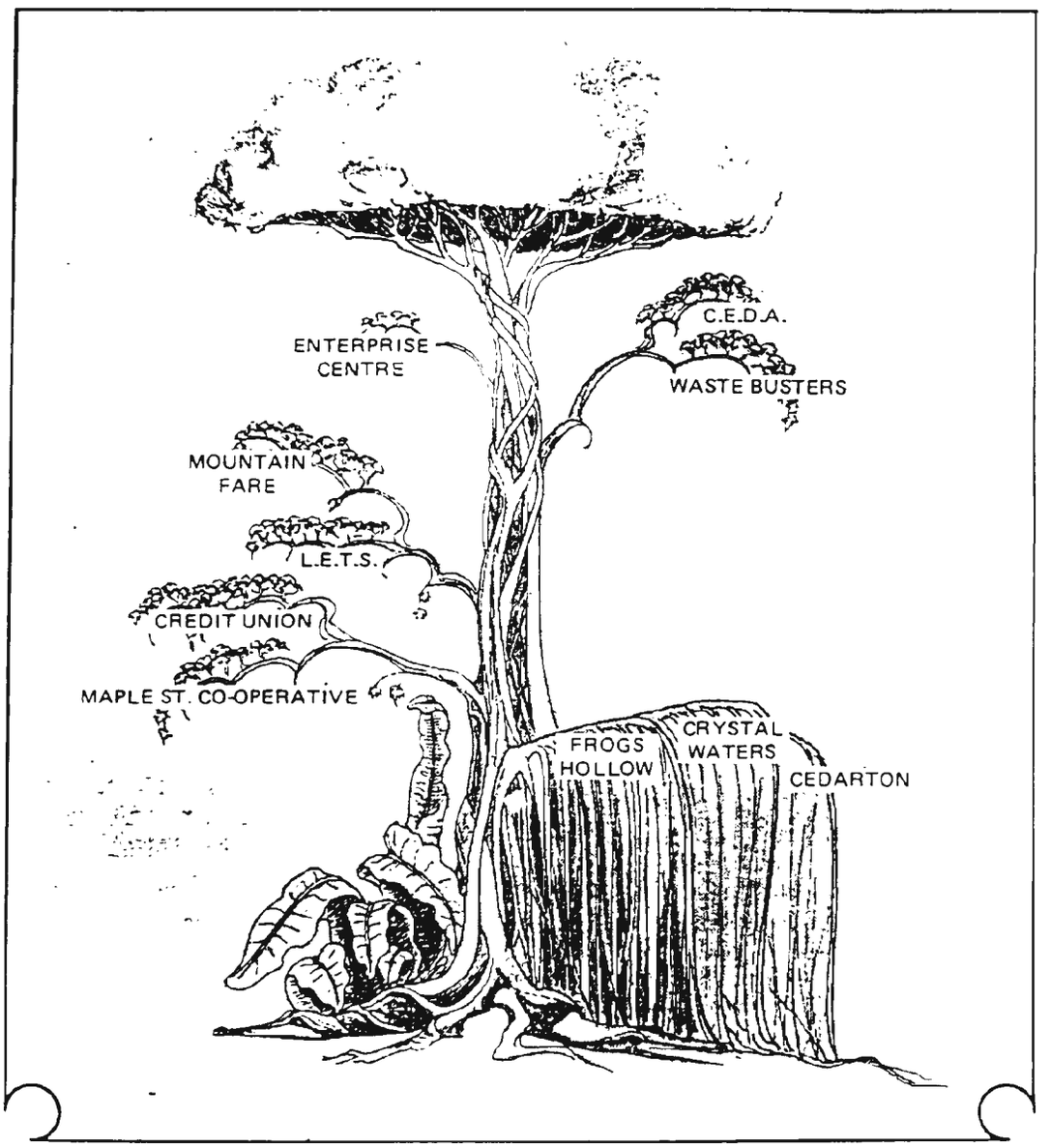


**diagram 9**

**alternative institutions and engagement**

In many ways, co-operatives expressed the community focus through the emphasis upon the local. In the Sunshine Coast hinterland, the co-operatives associated with the *Maleny Cooperatives* identified their efforts as a new co-operative movement, with a heritage in the past also based upon the local approach. The second issue of the *Maleny Cooperatives* contained brief histories of the various co-operative which had started in the region over the past decade. It also published an article about an earlier co-operative, the Maleny Co-operative Dairy Association, with which it identified, on the basis of it having started as a local enterprise. It further drew attention to the problems with the current directions for the co-operative movement. About this it states:

> The primary Producer's Co-operative structure remains an integral part of the dairy industry throughout this country, and as such, it is strongly tied to the mainstream rural economy. The current trend towards amalgamation reflects broader economic necessities such as competitiveness with overseas producers. Small dairy farms, and indeed small dairy co-ops are no longer viable.[12]

Against this is contrasted the co-operatives associated with the *Maleny Cooperatives*:

> Nowadays, Maleny is gaining a nation-wide reputation as a pioneer in a *new* co-operative movement. The emphasis has moved back to small and local. Most of the people involved are new to the area, but the spirit of co-operation which gave rise to the Maleny Co-operative Dairy Association in 1905 is still alive in these beautiful hills.[13]

The article also provided a pedigree with co-operatives through history and currently, both in Australia and overseas. The pedigree rests on the claims of a common heritage and purpose in relation to the trust and responsibility which forms the basis of community:

> It may be seen that co-operatives are not just quaint little organisations that are an anomaly on the economic scene, but a vibrant sector which has its roots firmly embedded in people's higher motives.[14]

In addition to the local emphasis, co-operatives also satisfied the need for community focus

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[12] Jan Tilden. "Our origins as a co-op town. The Maleny Co-operative Dairy Association." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 2nd quarter. vol.1. no.2. 1990. p.7.

[13] Tilden. "Our origins as a co-op town." 1990. p.7.

[14] "Co-operatives - the larger picture." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 4th Quarter. vol.1. no.4. 1990. pp.1-2.

through the emphasis upon co-operation. As suggested in Chapter Four, cooperation was increasingly seen as the basis for community rather than the more rigid definition of a geographically-based community.[15] The *Maleny Cooperatives* highlighted the "International principles of co-operation" on the front page of the second issue. These principles were:

> open and voluntary membership, democratic control, limited interest on shares, education, return of surplus to members, and co-operation among co-operatives.[16]

These principles are transposed upon some mountain imagery, a peak labelled with each principle, seen as having relevance in any time and place - "the peaks of the mountains wherein lies the power of the earth" (see diagram 10).[17] Co-operation was also highlighted in relation to the role of the *Maleny Cooperatives* periodical, as "a splendid manifestation of the sixth of these - co-operation of Co-ops".[18] A later issue espouses the Principles of Cooperation, "cooperation, not competition, is the very basis of existing life systems and of future survival".[19] The Maleny and District Community Credit Union had a slogan throughout the 1994 Annual Report, "local by name co-operative by nature".[20] The continuing theme of co-operation was derived from the emphasis upon co-operatives as the principal form of legal organisation of the movement. However the term also reflected the personal and community power dimensions of the rustic ideal, in which human relationships and empowerment were the cornerstone of community.

While the co-operatives organisational structure, as interpreted by the alternative community movement, satisfied their community focus, there were pragmatic considerations behind its deployment, as indicated in Chapter Four.[21] One central issue was to facilitate economic

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[15] Chapter Four: Redefining Community.

[16] *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review. 3rd Quarter*. Author's collection. vol.1. no.3. 1990. front cover.

[17] "Co-operatives - the larger picture." 1990. pp.1-2.

[18] "Editorial." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 3rd Quarter. vol.1. no.3. 1990. p.2.

[19] *Maleny Cooperatives. A Review*. Author's collection. Christmas. vol.2. no.2. 1990. p.8.

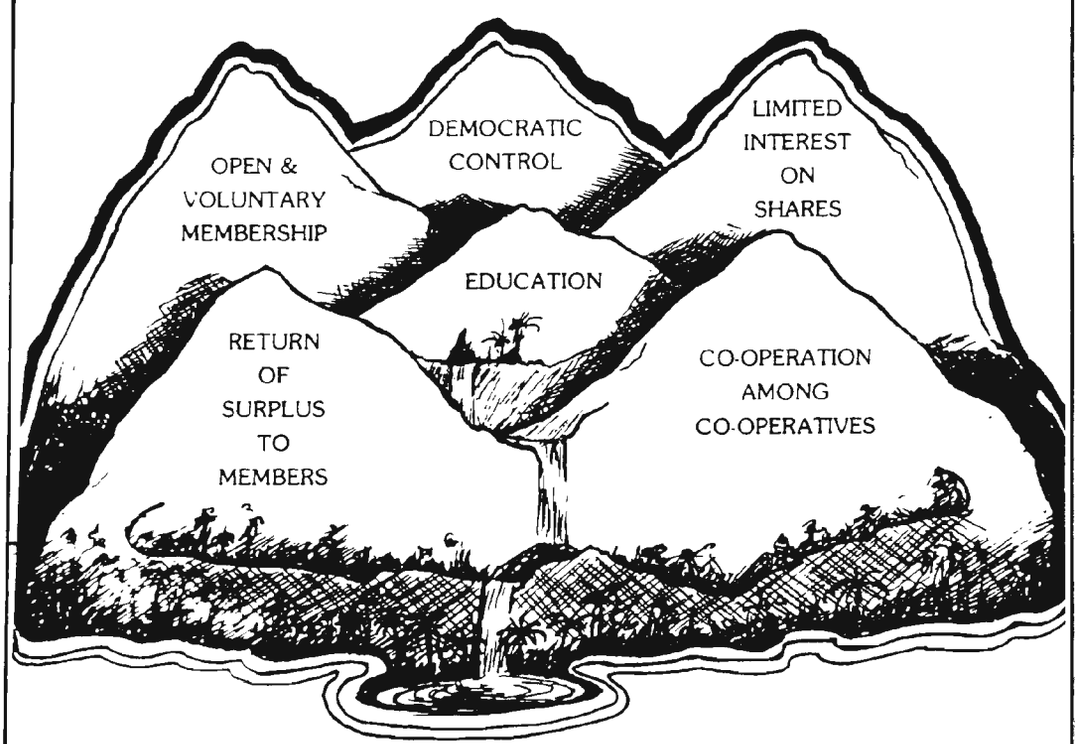
[20] Maleny and District Credit Union. *Maleny and District Community Credit Union. 10th Annual Report. 1994. Make your Money Count in the Community*. Annual Report. 1994.

[21] Chapter Four: Economic Viability.

Maleny Co-operatives

A QUARTERLY REVIEW

Volume 1, Issue 3 3rdQuarter 1990




## THE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE PRINCIPLES

**diagram 10**

self-reliance in the provision of capitalisation for land ownership and employment opportunities. In the early 1980s, efforts were made in this direction, with the establishment of the Maple Street Coop which has continued and expanded.[22] The Maleny and District Community Credit Union, established in 1984, had over 1,100 members using the its services by 1991, and over $4.5 million had been borrowed by members:[23]

> to help them settle on the land, build their own houses, start their own businesses and obtain capital-intensive items that they could not otherwise have been able to afford.[24]

Meanwhile, community co-operatives continued to be established, for the settling and livelihood of its members, rather than for production or consumption activities. These community co-operatives included Frog's Hollow, Cedarton, Crystal Waters, and the Prout Co-op.[25]

Employment issues were addressed in a variety of ways, with an emphasis upon the establishment of co-operatives. The Caloundra Enterprise Development Agency began informally in 1986 as a voluntary group of business people and community workers concerned about the lack of employment opportunities in the region. By 1989 it had become incorporated as a non-profit company, and been the recipient of a Local Employment Initiatives grant from the Department of Employment, Vocational Education and Training. The objectives of the Caloundra Enterprise Development Agency involved:

> the creation of any new business, support for existing businesses, development for new industries, improvement of training opportunities, creation of new jobs, which support our ethical charter of social responsibility and environmental sustainability.[26]

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[22] Jan Tilden and Meg Barrett. "A new lease and a long life for Maple Street Coop." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. Spring. vol.3. no.1. 1991. pp.17-19.

[23] See Chapter Four: Economic Viability for further information.

[24] "A Short History." *Maleny Co-operatives* Author's collection. vol.1. no.1. p.3.

[25] These communities are discussed in Jenny, Paul, Prabha, Steve, Giita, and Michael. "Starting a 'community co-operative'." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 2nd Quarter. vol.1. no.2. 1990. pp.23-25, and Jan Tilden. "Frog's Hollow ... twelve years on." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Review*. Author's collection. Christmas. vol.2. no.1. 1990. pp.4-7.

[26] "C.E.D.A." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 2nd Quarter. vol.1. no.2. 1990. p.4 and Ginny McCraw. "CEDA news." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Review*. Author's collection. Spring. vol.2. no.3. 1991. p.14.

One of the main initiators was Marg O'Connell who, along with Jill Jordan, had played a strong role in establishing of co-operatives in the region.[27]

Several worker cooperatives were formed to deal with employment. One of the objectives of the community co-operative Crystal Waters, was to achieve "a level of community and economic sustainability". To this end, participants in the community established co-operatives to provide a range of goods and services. These co-operatives included a Builder's Co-operative which provided the services of registered carpenters and electricians, an alternative energy consultant, landscapers, and permaculture designers. Terra Firm specialised in rammed earth building while Earth Links was a mud-brick company. Eden Fruits Nursery distributed fruit trees and plants, and various spiritual guidance and healing services were also available.[28] In 1990 Black Possum publishing Co-op was established for creative writers. The co-operative was named after an animal native to that local region. They planned to assemble, edit, publish, produce, market and distribute material submitted by members.[29] Mountain Fare started in 1989 as a co-operative of women only, offering catering services, and provision of fresh produce and frozen food. An "enterprise centre" in Brisbane, the Web, also provided a "shared workspace" for a series of economic initiatives, including a desk top publishing service, a permaculture and landscaping service, and a nursery of native fruit trees and plants.[30]

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[27] Jill Jordan's involvement is discussed in Alan Kershaw. "The bartered bride." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. (reprinted from the Bulletin) Author's collection. 2nd Quarter. vol.1. no.2. 1990. pp.12-13. Jordan was one of the founders of Maleny Credit Union, and involved with the Maleny Enterprise Centre Association, chairperson of the Maleny Co-op Club Society Inc. amongst other commitments, as well as being elected to the Caloundra City Council 1991-94. Marg O'Connell's involvement is noted throughout the *Sunshine News* and *Maleny Cooperatives*.

[28] Jay Murray-McLeish. "Economic Sustainability." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 2nd Quarter. vol.1. no.2. 1990. p.16.

[29] John Lamb. "Black Possum Publishing Co-op." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 2nd Quarter. vol.1. no.2. 1990. p.20.

[30] These activities and services are promoted in *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. November. 1988. p.5 and *Down to Earth Newsletter*. Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland. September. 1989. p.4, and Web Inc. "Basic Needs. Courses at the Web". [Brisbane] [leaflet advertising courses] Author's collection. Autumn. 1991. Also, see Chapter Four: Economic Viability.

In addition, a special *Social Alternatives* featured a series of articles by written participants in the alternative community movement, which linked the community with ethical employment. For instance, see Meg Barrett. "Wimmin's work." *Social Alternatives*. vol.10. no.3. 1991. pp.23-24, Michael Gow. "Being there." *Social*

The emphasis upon the local was, however, being undermined to some extent by the aims of some co-operatives. For instance, an aim of the Black Possum Publishing Co-op was "to address the difficulties faced by very many talented creative writers and artists in reaching markets for their work".[31] Assumably these markets extended outside the alternative communities. Another example was the aim of the Community shop at Crystal Waters, to make available the services of advertising, graphic art, public relations, media skills, "to penetrate the external market with ethical produce".[32] However participation in the mainstream economy was justified in terms of encouraging the wider community to consider the value of locally produced goods and production methods.

Moreover, many of these initiatives relied upon attaining government funding. To be successful in obtaining funding, they had to tailor their initiatives to the funding criteria of the funding bodies. Support from public authorities was accordingly sought on the basis of the promotion of small businesses to address regional rural employment. For example, Mountain Fare attained funding on the grounds that it addressed rural women's unemployment. Mountain Fare also formed a training unit, the Women's Education Service, which offered women in the co-operative *Women in Business* courses.[33] Another example was the Caloundra Enterprise Development Agency which received a Queensland Government grant in 1989 to establish the Maleny Enterprise Centre. The Maleny Enterprise Centre was to provide an "incubation" space for "fledgling businesses". The Enterprise Centre Manager claimed that the unemployment problem could be alleviated by the establishment of small business, provided they were given sufficient financial assistance in the first three years - a fact which he stated was already recognised by all three levels of

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*Alternatives*. vol.10. no.3. 1991. pp.12-14, Jill Jordan. "Economics is community business." *Social Alternatives*. vol.10. no.3. 1991. pp.31-32, Margi O'Connell. "Community economics." *Social Alternatives*. vol.10. no.3. 1991. pp.9-11, Janet Skrand. "Local energy created out of unemployment." *Social Alternatives*. vol.10. no.3. 1991. pp.15-17, and Paul Wildman. "Creative unemployment: a role for governments?" *Social Alternatives*. vol.10. no.3. 1991. pp.27-28.

[31] Lamb. "Black Possum Publishing Co-op." 1990. p.20.

[32] Jay Murray-McLeish. "Economic Sustainability." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 2nd Quarter. vol.1. no.2. 1990. p.16.

[33] Meg Barrett. "Mountain Fare." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 2nd Quarter. vol.1. no.2. 1990. p.11 and Lillian Okorn. "A Spring Festival for Maleny." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 2nd Quarter. vol.1. no.2. 1990. p.11.

government.[34]

Receiving government funding would appear to undermine both the grassroots approach to the unemployment issues of the movement and the independence from mainstream forms of business ventures. However, the initiatives to which funding was attracted were not so much shaped by public policy, in spite of the rhetoric of small businesses aiding employment as causing a reinterpretation of it. For instance, while the stated goal for the Caloundra Enterprise Development Agency was employment, the agency was geared towards specific kinds of employment, in accord with its social and environmental charter. The ethical character of this project was reinforced by the specific definition of enterprise agency in the context of the alternative community movement, defined as:

> the process of assisting people to use their imagination and exercise their powers of responsibility, creativity, management and initiative. These skills are developed in a context of business creation and community improvement.[35]

Thus, the goal of the Enterprise Development Agency was consistent with the community building aspirations of the movement, rather than wholesale integration into the mainstream economy. Moreover the success of these employment initiatives directed government attention upon them. "Government departments and people employed by the government", including Deputy Director (Commercial Division) of the New South Wales Registry of Co-operatives, studies these initiatives with a view to their applicability in other rural areas in Australia for reducing unemployment. The New South Wales Department of Further Education and Employment and Training Division were "promoting local enterprise creation programs".[36] This engagement through community initiatives reflects a pattern of innovation initiated by the alternative community movement.

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[34] Bob Sample. "The Enterprise Centre Maleny." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 3rd Quarter. vol.1. no.3. 1990. pp.4-5. For up-dates on the enterprise centre, see Bob Sample. "Shared Workplace Scheme." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Review*. Author's collection. Spring. vol.3. no.1. 1991. pp.15-16, Annah Evington. "In there and swimming." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Review*. Author's collection. Spring. vol.4. no.3. 1993. p.21, and "Progress of Maleny Enterprise Centre." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 2nd Quarter. vol.1. no.2. 1990. p.6.

[35] "C.E.D.A." 1990. p.5.

[36] Denise Sawyer. "Maleny Enterprises, model for other towns?" *Maleny Cooperatives. A Review*. Author's collection. Spring. vol.2. no.3. p.20-21.

The LETS system of economic exchange also offered opportunities for cooperation with some government departments.[37] In 1990, approaches to the Departments of Social Security and Taxation were made, with the aim of allowing people to pay tax in LETS currency, known in Queensland as bunyas, and for the Taxation Office to 'spend' those units in the area, with a similar arrangement for welfare payments. The Taxation Department expressed reluctance while the Department of Social Security some interest. These developments occurred against a backdrop of debate in the alternative community movement about such issues. For instance, there was disagreement about whether or not LETS should be "outside the mainstream economic systems" and that "there should be no contact with the Tax or Social Security Departments", while others argued that "as members are users of public facilities, and as LETS is not completely divorced from the world, that the Tax and DSS [Department of Social Security] issues should be addressed".[38] This debate accurately identified a tension between innovation and containment or accommodation.

Another issue related to co-operatives which expressed the tension between innovation and containment was the legal options made available through the co-operative structures. The co-operatives legal structures clearly had some advantages for the community movement over others kinds of legal structures, particularly the capacity for multiple ownership and internally democratic practices. However it is also restrictive in many ways. For instance, there were three forms of legal structure for collective ownership of land. Firstly, group title was expensive with stringent Council requirements, and required unencumbered freehold title for each owner which was contrary to the idea of owning collectively. Secondly, community settlement overcame the freehold problem but required a minimum of 25 members, although after negotiations two levels of membership were legally instituted. Thirdly, the primary producer co-operative was the simplest and cheapest, but required that all income earners on the land gained the majority of their income from primary production.[39]

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[37] See Chapter Four: Redefining Community for background to the LETS system.

[38] Alan Kershaw. "The bartered bride." pp.12-13, and Peter Pamment. "LETS issues." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Quarterly Review*. Author's collection. 4th Quarter. vol.1. no.4. 1990. p.23. The LETS system has also proven popular overseas. It has been established in several other countries, including local interest in establishing a LETS system in black communities in South Africa - Jill Jordan. "From your roving correspondent." *Maleny Co-operatives. A Review*. Author's collection. Easter. vol.3. no.2. pp.25-26.

[39] Jenny, Paul, Prabha, Steve, Giita, and Michael. "Starting a 'community co-operative'. pp.23-25.

Another issue was that, once established with a co-operatives legal structure, the co-operative was vulnerable to unwelcome changes in legislation. For instance, under legislative changes, the Maleny and District Community Credit Union was placed under the new The Financial Institutions (Queensland) Act 1992 which covers credit unions and building societies. Under this Act, the Credit Union had to make big profits very quickly, to remain viable:

> The worst part of the legislation, and a great concern to our directors, is that we are being forced to follow the economic rationalists and chase after profits to become a more 'stable and secure institution for investors' (as measured by the eggheads) but at a great cost to our members in terms of the costs of services and loans.[40]

There were accusations from the alternative community movement that the bank lobby was behind this development, to minimise competition. While the Maleny and District Credit Union weathered this change successfully, it indicated their vulnerability to other actors with different objectives to themselves.

The establishment of the new co-operative movement saw the flourishing of the movement in terms of persistence and the increased capacity to live out the praxis of their environmental project, with 'personal harmony, environmental responsibility, and economic viability'. It also provided a significant opportunity for engagement with the system, and to introduce innovation, as indicated by the government interest in these grass roots community employment initiatives. However it also points to risks of too close an involvement with the system, of being open to cooption and containment.

There was also the future danger that government-sponsored initiatives based on employment strategies proposed by the alternative community movement might lack the social and environmental, or ethical, charter which was fundamental to the project of the alternative community movement. The government agencies might be more concerned with this strategy for easing the accumulation and legitimation crisis at the expense the ethical concerns. Perhaps a more significant danger was the degree to which the system can *accommodate*, and perhaps has accommodated the community building project of this movement, which would limit its potential for innovation.

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[40] Peter Pamment. "Legislative changes - 'some good news and lots of bad news'." *Maleny Cooperatives. A Review*. Author's collection. Spring. vol.3. no.3. 1992. p.7.

## THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT AND ENGAGEMENT

This section addresses the relationship between the conservation movement in southeast Queensland and the green electoral movement represented by the formation of the Australian and Queensland Greens. It examines the grounds for conservationists' ambivalence towards this electoral wing of the green movement with regard to their environmental project. This ambivalence is explained in terms of the continuing endeavours to directly or indirectly influence development and associated policies, which impact upon their environmental concerns. This section shows that in the changing context of reform and conflict in the 1990s, the strategy of the conservation movement shifted in emphasis to a range of new alignments grounded in then current economic debate about employment, rather than specifically development.

### preference strategies and electoral campaigning

As discussed in Chapter Six, the Queensland Labor Party Government initially proved a disappointment to the conservation movement. Community consultation practices were viewed with some scepticism. Commenting upon the first major urban planning project of the Labor administration, the SEQ 2001 Project, an official conservation movement representative claimed the project was "reduced to another technical exercise".[41] This disappointment continued to the mid-1990s as scepticism about the real government agenda for community consultation was raised. There were concerns expressed about the intentions of the community consultation process, with suspicion that its purpose was to manipulate public opinion rather than to encourage it.[42]

After a long association while it was in Opposition and the support given it for the 1989 Queensland state elections, the tentativeness the conservation movement felt towards the Labor Party became evident in the campaign leading up to the 1995 Queensland state

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[41] Adrian Jeffreys. "The SEQ 2001 Project." *Eco Sphere*. vol.13. no.4. 1992. p.4.

[42] For instance, see Jennifer Simpson. "Community consultation - how to distinguish between an opportunity and a snow-job." *Eco Sphere*. vol.15. no.4. 1994. p.8.

elections.[43] For this election campaign, the questionnaire campaigning was administered to the electoral contenders, as had been the strategy in previous elections. This time, however, the Australian Democrats and Queensland Greens were referred more seriously than in other campaigns, even though neither was in a position to win government. In addition, there was more caution than usual in pointing out the policy differences between Labor Party and the Liberal and National party policies. While it was pointed out that Labor responded better than the other two major parties, the question was raised about the extent to which the responses of the Labor Party could be trusted. It was also noted that the policies of the National Party on environmental matters had shown "some improvement".[44]

The performance of the Federal Labor Government was also subject to major criticism by the Queensland conservation movement. Speaking for the Queensland Conservation Council, the Co-ordinator claimed that the conservation movement felt "betrayed" by this Government, particularly over the proposed Resource Security Act.[45] The Australian Conservation Foundation expressed this sense of betrayal, with regard to a range of Federal Labor Government policies over the early 1990s. The Ecologically Sustainable Development Process, initiated by the Federal Labor Government in late 1990, held much promise for the conservation movement. The consultation process involved 150 appointees from environmentalists, government officials, industry and union representatives, and academics, to produce draft reports by July 1991. In accordance with demands made by the conservation movement, Federal Government funding was forthcoming to facilitate the involvement of the conservation movement.[46] Participation in this process was hailed as a significant development by some participants in the conservation movement:

> Even given a worst-case scenario, however, ESD represents a new role for the environmental movement, which up until now, by its own admission, has not been strong on economic policy. The importance in this process, of being able to prescribe

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[43] See Chapter Three: Ousting the Nationals for background to previous support for Labor Party policies.

[44] "State groups seek greener government." *Eco Sphere*. Special Election Issue. July. 1995. pp.1,4.

[45] *Eco Sphere*. vol.12. no.4. p.12.

[46] Australian Conservation Foundation and World Wide Fund for Nature Australia. "ESD. How it all started." *Ecologically Sustainable Development. Information Kit*. [produced by the ACF-WWF Ecologically Sustainable Development Policy and Liaison Units] 1991.

> policy rather than maintaining only a protest role, cannot be underestimated.[47]

However, the process proved disappointing on many grounds.

Some conservation groups were tentative about their involvement in this process in spite of their commitment to a environmental project:

> Of the environment movement, the Wilderness Society decided at the outset not to participate in the ESD process, Greenpeace dropped out after several months, and only ACF and WWF remained in the Working Groups the full three months.[48]

To some extent this tentativeness arose from concerns about the nature of the consultation process. In response to demands for more open consultation, a series of Public Forums were convened in major metropolitan centres over 1991. This development was supported by an *ESD Newsbrief* with up-dates on the process. Another concern was about insufficient time and notice given to facilitate broad community involvement. Conservationists also expressed concern about insufficient representation of Aboriginal groups and their issues. The Mining Working Group, for instance was considered, "by its very nature, an unsuitable forum for consideration of Aboriginal issues such as land rights".[49]

The design of the process was also subject to criticism from the conservation movement. The ESD Process was established initially as nine Industry Working Groups comprising: agriculture, energy use, energy production, fisheries, forestry, manufacturing, mining, transport and tourism. The conservation movement were concerned that this approach would not permit sufficient integration across the sectors.[50] They also claimed that the Business Council of Australia had complained about a bias towards "green attitudes" and that this was "unbalanced". On this basis, the Business Council had threatened to withdraw from the

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[47] Australian Conservation Foundation and World Wide Fund for Nature Australia. "Who's Who in ESD." *Ecologically Sustainable Development. Information Kit*. [produced by the ACF-WWF Ecologically Sustainable Development Policy and Liaison Units] 1991.

[48] Mark Diesendorf. "ACF reclaiming the ecologically sustainable development project process". [discussion paper by Co-ordinator, Global Change Program, Australian Conservation Foundation] 1992. p.3.

[49] Diesendorf. "ACF reclaiming the ecologically sustainable development project process". 1992. p.3.

[50] W.I. Hare. 1991. *Ecologically sustainable development. Assessment of the ESD Working Group Reports*. Australian Conservation Foundation and World Wide Fund for Nature, Australia, ESD Policy Unit. December 1991 and "Cheek to Cheek in Canberra." *Dancing with Wolves*. no.2. 1991. pp.1,3.

process.[51] The conservation movement was concerned that this attitude by the Business Council indicated their economic agenda would over-ride environmental issues.[52]

Disappointment in the ESD Process increased when the conservation movement perceived that a condition essential to their involvement in it had been breached. There had been a prior agreement that no major resource or environmental decision would be made during the course of the ESD process. The breach refers to the attempt in 1991 by the Federal Government to pass the controversial Resource Security Act. Initially proposed in 1989, it generated massive criticism from the conservation movement throughout Australia:

> In April 1991, when the Federal Government breached the last of these conditions by introducing the 'Resource Security Act', the ACF Executive voted only by a narrow margin to stay in the ESD process.[53]

Referring to the Resource Security proposal, the Australian Conservation Council Director proposed the need for "constructive" conflict resolution rather than conflict suppression.[54]

In the face of these problems with both the state and federal Labor Governments, electoral strategies were sought to enhance influence over government policy. Chapters Six and Seven showed the growing interest in supporting, and even fielding green candidates, shown by the conservation movement in southeast Queensland and around Australia. In many instances, this interest was tentative in southeast Queensland, even though the eventful 24-25 February 1990 meeting, which formed the Queensland Green Network, was an initiative from the conservation movement.[55] The tentativeness can be attributed to several factors. One was that the conservation movement relied on a wide basis of support to enhance the legitimacy of their demands. Non-partisanship was a necessary condition to maintain this support. Moreover, had there been any intention to develop a partisan position, it would not have been

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[51] "'Unfair' Cries BCA." *Dancing with Wolves*. no.3. p.10.

[52] "Greenies threaten future of talks." *Sunshine Coast Daily*. June 23. 1990. p.12.

[53] Diesendorf. "ACF reclaiming the ecologically sustainable development project process". 1992. p.3.

[54] Phillip Toyne. "Resolving the Real Conflicts." *Resolving the Real Conflicts. A Community Summit for Environmental Dispute Resolution*. Brisbane. 17 February. 1991.

[55] See Chapter Six: Political Closure and New Alignments, and Chapter Seven: Broad Green Movement Cooperation and Queensland and Australian Greens.

enforceable upon the organisations and groups which constitute the conservation movement.[56] Consequently, support from the conservation movement for the green electoral initiatives was on the basis of individual membership only.

Moreover, the conservation movement had not shown uniform interest in becoming involved in fielding green candidates. There were different priorities across the conservation organisations. For instance, in Queensland, the Wilderness Society and the Australian Conservation Foundation, both national organisations, ran a joint marginal seats campaign in nine seats throughout Australia, including Moreton and Fisher in Queensland. This 1990 federal election campaign supported candidates of *major* parties on the basis of their environmental policies, rather than the green candidates fielded by the Queensland Green Network.[57]

Meanwhile, frustration with policies of the Labor Party was increased by rumours of a leaked document indicating that the Federal Labor Party was not interested in conservation concerns. The leaked document supposedly stated that the 1990 federal election win by Labor had not been dependent upon green preferences, that Labor needed the revenue from rural resource industries, and that Labor did not want to upset unions by acceding "too much" to conservation demands.[58] This fuelled concerns in the conservation movement that the sustainable development agenda of the Federal Government was really an attempt to promote growth and suppress the environmental advocacy voice.

National conservation organisations were also likely to have different interests from the state and regional ones. National bodies favoured a national strategy while regional and state-based groups were more focused upon the interests of the state. This difference in emphasis helps

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[56] See Doyle for the complex structure of the Queensland conservation movement - T.J. Doyle. "The 'structure' of the conservation movement in Queensland." *Social Alternatives*. vol.5. no.2. 1986. pp.27-32, and T.J. Doyle, T.J. "The myth of the common goal: the conservation movement in Queensland." *Social Alternatives*. vol.6. no.4. 1987. pp.33-36.

[57] John Ridgeway. "ACF/TWS election campaign." *Queensland Green Network Newsletter*. Author's collection. May. 1990. no.1. p.4. For further discussion about divisions in the conservation movement about supporting green candidates, see Chapter Seven: Conflicting 'Green' Agendas.

[58] Sandra Hepburn. "How green is your federal ALP?" *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.13. no.4. 1992. p.16.

to explain the joint Green Challenge Campaign by the Wilderness Society and the Australian Conservation Foundation, while the Queensland Conservation Council had convened the meeting which formed the Queensland Green Network.[59] Regional differences within the state can also account for the tentativeness of support from the conservation movement to the fielding of green candidates. Regional groups often placed more emphasis on issues which directly affect their region, while the state-based (and national) groups were more likely to trade off some issues against others when organising state (or national) priorities. This regional difference was apparent at the first conference of the Queensland Greens in 1992. Of the conservation movement members in attendance, all were from regional centres, and several went on to take official positions in the party and stand as candidates.[60]

These conflicting priorities were brought out during the lead-up to the 1995 Queensland state elections. A media release by the Queensland Conservation Council on behalf of the 1995 Annual State Conservation Groups Conference stated that:

> the state government should not underestimate the mood of the green movement and pointed to a conference resolution ... putting the state government on notice that they could no longer count on the green vote in the forthcoming election.[61]

Between this press release and the elections, the Labor Party made substantial promises to the conservation movement.[62] Meanwhile, the preference strategy adopted by the Queensland Greens saw some preferences being directed to the Labor Party, and preferences in four seats away from the Labor Party.[63] This election was predicted to be a close one, in part because of a shift in public opinion against Labor. Another factor contributing to a

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[59] See Chapter Seven: Broad Green Movement Cooperation.

[60] For instance, the founding members of the Queensland Greens included Colin Hunt, Jonathan Metcalfe, and Ian tucker from the conservation movement in the 'far north' region of the state, and Pat O'Brien, Joan Furness, and Craig Hardy from the conservation movement in the middle region of Capricornia. The minutes indicate that many undertook office-bearing positions, and some also ran as candidates for the Queensland greens. For instance, Colin Hunt was elected Convenor of the Cairns branch, and ran on the Senate ticket for the 1992 federal elections.

[61] Queensland Conservation Council. "Media release. Conservationists send clear warning to Goss Government: You can no longer count on green vote!" [one page media release] 2 May. 1995.

[62] Young notes the last-minute appearance of these promises - Virginia Young. "A vote for the environment". *Wilderness News*. August/September/October. 1995. pp.18-20.

[63] The 'how-to-vote' cards distributed at the voting booths of the 1995 Queensland state elections indicated these preferences. Author's collection. The preference allocation decisions were made by local branches of the Greens and did not necessarily reflect a state-wide strategy - see Constitution for rules about the autonomy of local branches.

predictions of a close election was the formation of a coalition by the National and Liberal parties, thus enhancing the influence of the anti-Labor vote. The preferences allocated by the Queensland Greens thus generated much controversy, particularly in the conservation movement.

This controversy revealed the divisions in the conservation movement both about their strategy and the role of the Labor Party in it. One main position was that, in the absence a better alternative to the Labor Party, the Labor Party had to be shown they could not rely automatically upon green votes, much as the media release suggests. The other major position was to support a Labor Government on the basis that it was the better alternative, for this election. Criticism of the above media release was the first indication of divisions within the conservation movement about strategy for these elections. A letter sent by Nicky Hungerford, the Co-ordinator of the Queensland Conservation Council to major Queensland conservation groups points out that the media release does raise some concerns about strategy - meaning the relationship between the conservation movement and the Labor Party. It points out that the content of the release was necessary in order to represent the views of the grass roots constituency of the conservation movement. [64] The Australian Conservation Foundation, Wilderness Society and Australian Rainforest Conservation Society were highly critical of the Queensland Greens preference strategy. An Australian Conservation Foundation spokesperson accused the Greens of being "dangerous anarchic reactionaries".[65]

Division continued after the election. In her assessment of the electoral aftermath of the 1995 state elections, the co-ordinator of the Brisbane branch of the Wilderness Society was critical of the strategy of the Queensland Greens. She stated that for this election, the Labor Party promises were better at this time than those of the Coalition, therefore the Labor Party was

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[64] Stated in a letter from Nicky Hungerford, Co-ordinator Queensland Conservation Council, distributed to major Queensland conservation groups, dated 2 May 1995.

[65] Fiona Kennedy. "Greens sold out to the Coalition, says angry ACF." *The Australian*. 18 July. 1995. p. 17. As indicated above, the national conservation organisations often had different priorities to the state and regional ones. The Rainforest Conservation Society was a Brisbane-based conservation group, under the leadership of prominent conservationist, Aila Keto. Keto and Keith Scott edited the Rainforest Conservation Society newsletter, *Liane,* since the Society was formed in 1983. The position of the Rainforest Conservation Society on the Greens preference strategy was, thus, largely the personal views of Aila Keto rather than representing a broad-based membership like the larger regional, state, and national organisations. Keto was very successful, however, in attracting media attention prior to the 1995 election.

entitled to green support.[66] A contributor to the Wilderness Society newsletter stated that risking a Coalition state government was too high a price to pay for this strategy. Another contributor stated that the Queensland Greens preference strategy was necessary to show that Labor could not take green voted for granted.[67]

However, this debate about the role of the Labor Party in the strategy of the conservation movement also signalled their real concerns, which was their capacity to influence development decisions impinging upon their environmental concerns. To this end, the Labor Party was still important to the conservation movement, in relation to the reform process the Labor Government had introduced - for all its limitations. These policy instruments were at the heart of the conservation movement strategy. Thus, the main priorities for the conservation movement were to maintain their organisational coherence and infrastructure, to improve their standing in the reform process forums, and to continue to seek alignments from the green movement and beyond it, in the service of realising their environmental project.

**institutional reform and engagement**

Throughout the tentative involvement by some parts of the conservation movement in the state and national green electoral initiatives, a strategy more directly involved with their endeavour to influence development and associated decisions emerged. At a national level, one strategy was the "ACF's own ESD program",[68] involving a range of initiatives outside the ESD Process of the Federal Government. According to the Australian Conservation Foundation Co-ordinator for the Global Change Program:

> For some environmentalists, cooperation with parts of the business community may appear to be a strange or even risky step. However, I would suggest that it is essential for the environment movement to seek solutions as well as to identify and to oppose environmentally damaging projects and industries. The positive approach involves trying to work with all parties: industry, trade unions, governments, the media and other community groups. The ESD process has shown us that the

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[66] Young. "A vote for the environment". 1995. pp.18-20.

[67] "Letters to the Editor." *Wilderness News*. August/September/October. 1995. u.p.

[68] Diesendorf. "ACF reclaiming the ecologically sustainable development project process". 1992. pp.6-7.

> environment movement has some common ground with most different parties, including some industries. In the case of ESD the least trustworthy groups turned out to be governments and public service departments with their own agendas.[69]

One campaign focused upon more energy efficient technologies such as the Green Fridge Quest, involving the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, other tertiary institutions, and community groups. Other projects included the establishment of the Sustainable Energy Business coalition of Australia:

> bringing together the environment movement, the Australian and New Zealand Energy Society and many fragmented businesses and industries in the areas of energy efficiency and renewable energy, to give them a strong public voice.[70]

Another project has been the Landcare Project, arising from collaboration with the National Farmers Federation and with some Government assistance. Landcare was a scheme aimed at addressing the threat to the stability and sustained productivity of rural land which was posed by land degradation. The scheme emphasised the voluntary action of individual land-holders. In Queensland the Departments of Primary Industries and Environment and Heritage worked in collaboration with Queensland Conservation Council to undertake projects involving the sustainable use of our natural resources, such as rehabilitation of degraded areas.[71]

Another part of the scheme was to formulate development initiatives through the formation of economic policy alternatives. This strategy had been preceded by involvement in the economic campaign initiatives of the Rainbow Alliance, including participation in the Remaking Australian Conference in 1988 and the Work and Economic Justice campaign in 1990-92.[72] In 1993 the national conservation movement initiated its own economic policy campaign. This was signalled by the Work and the Environment National Workshop, held in Melbourne in 1993, initiated by the Australian Conservation Foundation.[73] The

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[69] Diesendorf. "ACF reclaiming the ecologically sustainable development project process." 1992. p.6.

[70] Diesendorf. "ACF reclaiming the ecologically sustainable development project process". 1992. p.6.

[71] Greg Smith. "National Landcare grants 1995-96." *Eco Sphere*. vol.15. no.4. 1994. p.13.

[72] See Chapter Seven: National Alignments.

[73] Australian Conservation Foundation. *Work and the Environment National Workshop. Proceedings*. University of Melbourne. 19-20 June. 1993. p.26.

conference was attended by representatives from a range of state-based conservation peak councils - Conservation Council of Victoria, Conservation Council of WA, Environment Centre of Northern Territory, Conservation Council of SA, Nature Conservation Council of NSW, as well as Australian Conservation Foundation. It was also attended by representatives from the Social, Ecological, Economic, and Cultural Alliance; the Office of Senator Cheryl Kernot (Australian Democrat); the Office of Senator Christabel Chamarette (WA Greens); the Greens (WA); and the Brotherhood of St. Lawrence.

At the Work and the Environment Conference, several workshops were convened to develop strategies for working with: unions and business, the small business sector, social equity issues, and the role of local communities. In this last workshop, one proposal was to "hijack the planning process", to:

> challenge bureaucratic processes to include community input, re-evaluate planning to include local government and communities.[74]

This position reflected the scepticism felt towards the policy reform processes introduced at state and federal levels of government. This proposal specified the aims of skilling the community in how to: participate in local government planning, convene community forums of community groups to better prepare for the government initiated forums, and change state planning frameworks which currently over-rode and ignored local concerns.

As the title of the conference suggested, the issue of employment was central to the concerns of this initiative. The introduction to the proceedings of this conference stated:

> The future of work and the future of the environment will affect us all. We must change the thinking that suggests these are often posed as opposites - jobs versus the environment. Current and past job losses have been caused by technological change and economic and social approaches rather than environmental considerations. In the longer term we must learn how to live and work within environmental constraints.[75]

In the early 1990s the Australian Conservation Foundation had already begun a project of cooperation with the Australian Council of Trade Unions on a Green Jobs project. In 1993 the Australian Conservation Council began the Green Jobs Unit, to run a joint ACF-ACTU

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[74] Australian Conservation Foundation. *Work and the Environment National Workshop. Proceedings*. 1993. p.26.

[75] Australian Conservation Foundation. *Work and the Environment National Workshop. Proceedings*. 1993.

Green Jobs in Industry Program, with the aim of identifying "ecologically sustainable solutions to Australia's problems". This project had received support from the Federal Labor Government while the Coalition had indicated that they would not support it if they won government.[76]

This economic agenda was also reflected in the Queensland conservation movement activities in the early 1990s. The theme of employment was present, within the framework of promoting development which improved employment opportunities and enhanced the quality of the environment. In 1992, the Queensland Conservation Council released its Employment and Environment Policy. This policy sought to reconcile employment issues, which were "first and foremost in the minds of Queenslanders" at this time, with environmental objectives:

> This policy highlights the opportunities for short terms job creation in environmental protection and regeneration and long term employment in developments which are ecologically sustainable.[77]

This policy advocated a restructuring of the Queensland economy towards a broader manufacturing base, relying on a stronger interventionist role for the government to achieve this, "The Policy identifies the important and legitimate role of the bureaucracy in managing and directing the economy".[78] Their proposed strategy involved retraining opportunities for the work-force, and transition strategies which were mindful of the social consequences as well as the environmental ones - referring to employment, safety, and meaningful work. Other components of the strategy included the greater utilisation of renewable resources, and addressing projected energy shortages through minimising energy use through improved efficiency rather than simply providing more energy.[79]

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[76] Lynette Wilks. "Green jobs in the '90s." *Conservation News*. February. 1993. p.11.

[77] Rosey Crisp. "Job creation - the green way." *Eco Sphere*. vol.13. no.3. 1992. p.1.

[78] Rosey Crisp. "Job creation - the green way." 1992. p.1.

[79] This issue was raised by the conservation movement in relation to the Tully Millstream conflict. The conservation movement argued that the dam was not necessary for dealing with the projected energy shortage - other means were available such as improving energy efficiency. This argument is raised in "QCC makes submission to QEC on Tully-Millstream dam." *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.12. no.1. pp.1-2, and "QCC coordinator reviews conservation in 1991". *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter*. vol.12. no.2. p.1.

Moreover, joint Queensland-national conservation movement initiatives also contributed to the "ESD agenda" of the conservation movement. The state conservation councils in several states including Queensland became involved in a project funded by the Department of Environment, Sport and Territories, to assess the potential of plantation resources for industry and employment expansion. The state reports from the participating states, (Queensland, New South Wales, Canberra, ACT, and Tasmania,) would eventually be compiled into a national report. An independent consultant from the timber industry was appointed to co-ordinate this project, following the successful collaboration between this consultant and the Victorian Conservation Council on a similar project.[80]

Interestingly, some of these activities overlapped with those of the alternative community movement. A group associated with the alternative community movement in Maleny successfully sought a grant under the Landcare Scheme.[81] In 1991 the Australian Conservation Foundation established the Green Bonds project with the Over 50s Friendly Society with a similar aim to the alternative community movement of generating capital for ecologically sustainable development.[82] Both the alternative community and conservation movements were interested in generating employment consistent with ecological goals, as part of the environmental projects.

With respect to the environmental project of the conservation movement, the purpose behind encouragement of institutional reform for the reconciliation of development and conservation concerns, was to assert the intrinsic worth and fundamental value of nature. Engagement was founded on the basis of a seemingly common ground between the governments' reform agendas and the institutional reforms sought by the conservation movement. However, Chapter Six indicated the tension in the new policy processes, between the agendas of the conservation movement and the governments' endeavour to impose solutions to their

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[80] Jenny James. "National plantation study." *Eco Sphere*. vol.15. no.4. 1994. p.10.

[81] This is discussed throughout the *Maleny Co-operatives. A Review*, from 1991 onwards. Cooperation from Caboolture Council saw some land donated for the use of this Landcare group - noted in Dean Cameron, Lexy Forbes, and Janel Skrandies. "Barung Landcare in 1991". *Maleny Co-operatives. A Review*. Author's collection. vol.3. no.1. pp.24-27.

[82] Gell, Rob. "New projects for ACF Green Bond." *Habitat Australia*. July. 1992. p.15.

accumulation and legitimation concerns.

The conservation movement continued to participate in these forums, as well as to attempt to alter the way they operate in terms of two issues. The first issue was to legitimise community consultation as a democratic process where the goals and premises of the process would be subject to public negotiation rather than being imposed by the government, and sufficient time, information, skilling, and resources were made available to facilitate community involvement. The second goal was to institutionalise within development policy the intrinsic worth and fundamental value of nature.[83] In both these instances, innovation was sought through altering the frame of reference and practices of the new policy processes.

Participation in the new policy processes did afford new opportunities for the conservation movement. However, it also increased the risk of containment, as many in the conservation movement were aware. Nonetheless, the conservation movement has shifted considerably from the anti-development posture expressed in the adversarial scenario of the 70s and 80s. The reform process which permitted this change reflected the accumulation and legitimation agenda of the government. In practice, they were however shaped to some extent by the conservation movement.

Meanwhile, the new economic initiatives in the 1990s reflected a fundamental shift in emphasis as to how environmental concerns were articulated. Highlighting employment issues fostered engagement in an important way, by creating tentative allies in some instances with previous adversaries, in particular the union movement and private sector, and to some extent the governments. Again, innovation was not guaranteed, the primary danger being accommodation. The green employment objectives may well become merely adjuncts to the future policy direction of the government, rather than an alternative. Nonetheless, the common ground was established for negotiation and conflict about these issue, with perhaps more sympathy from the public which no longer necessarily had to choose between jobs and

[83] See Chapter Six: Disenchantment with the Labor Government and The Real Reform Agenda of the Labor Government.

the environment.[84]

## POLITICAL GREEN MOVEMENT AND ENGAGEMENT

This section addresses the ways in which the Queensland Greens expressed the environmental project of the political green movement. It shows that, for the green political movement, the Queensland Greens was the praxis of their aspiration to achieve institutional transformation based on self-activity. However, quite separate from the perception of the role of the Greens is a range of issues about their actual role. These two issues are at the heart of assessing the bases of engagement which the political green movement has been able to achieve to date. This forms the basis of the second part of this section.

### the Greens as praxis

Throughout several organisations and campaigns, the political green movement had continued to assert their environmental project: the achievement of a 'just, humane, and ecological society' through institutional transformation. The notion of self-activity was at the heart of the institutional transformation considered essential to achieve the sustainable society.[85] The Queensland Greens represented the praxis (as distinct from the achievement) of their environmental project in relation to three aspects of the political party.

Firstly, the charters of the Queensland and Australian Greens reflected a version of the principles for a 'just, humane, and ecological' society which the political green movement had promoted since the formation of the Brisbane Green Party in 1984. These principles were based largely on the German Greens four pillars, which had also strongly influenced some

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[84] Papadakis argues that the environmental movement was to some degree successful in both shaping the agenda as well as mobilising substantial resources towards their environmental objectives. However, as this thesis indicates, underpinning the apparent convergence of interests was a fundamental disjunction between prioritising the environment or the economy amongst conservationists, state agencies and economic interests. This disjunction may well be bridged at some point, however this thesis offers a less optimistic account than does Papadakis - Papadakis. *Politics and the Environment*. 1993. pp.117-117-138.

[85] See Chapters Five, Six and Seven for details about these activities.

sections of the green movement in other parts of Australia.[86] This development reflected the success of the green political movement in southeast Queensland in gaining substantial influence over the initial drafts of the Constitutions for these two parties, in the aftermath of the national debate about a national green electoral vehicle.

The principles of the 'just, humane, and ecological society' were firmly entrenched in the Principles section of the Queensland Greens Constitution. The ecological dimension, which is the starting point for this list of principles, is linked to a range of social issues:

> to develop an ecologically sustainable economy that allows for the satisfaction of rational human needs and the maintenance of biological diversity ... to transform the nature of consumption and work so that they are safe, socially useful, and environmentally benign ... [and] to develop a society which enables people to pursue lifestyles of their own choosing providing they do not interfere with the rights of other persons or the environmental integrity of our planet.[87]

That is, ecological issues were seen as intrinsically linked to all facets of social life. The humanist dimension also had a strong presence in the charter, expressed through several principles:

> to seek improvements in the quality of human relationships in all aspects of society and the economy, through honesty, tolerance, compassion and a sense of mutual obligation ... to provide education for living, as well as earning a living, throughout life ... to encourage individual initiative and enterprise and to recognise the need for self-fulfilment.[88]

Both examples represent strong continuities with the Brisbane Green Party and the Rainbow Alliance, bearing in mind that, as pointed out above, other parts of the green movement in Australia also promoted similar principles in some instances.

The justice dimension was also represented in the Queensland Green charter, with reference to both democratic concerns and social and economic issues. The social and economic

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[86] See Chapter Seven: Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland and Alignments (footnote) for backgrounds to the Green parties. This issue is also raised in Malcolm Lewis. "Queensland Report on the National Process". [1992] u.p.

[87] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Author's collection. Principles 2.1, 2.2 and 2.11 respectively.

[88] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Author's collection. Principles 2.9, 2.12 and 2.13 respectively.

concerns include the following principles:

> to ensure that the democratic and human rights of all individuals are protected and encouraged to flourish ... to change social structure to abolish inequalities based on wealth, gender and race.[89]

There was, in addition, an international dimension to the social and economic issues, namely:

> to ensure an independent, internationalist, non-aligned foreign policy and a non-nuclear, defensive, self-reliance defence policy ... to recognise the interdependence of all people and all nations, and to accept our obligation to the people of the developing countries by co-operating with them in their social and economic development.[90]

In terms of democratic justice, participatory democracy was specified in the references to community participation and to the democratisation of the economy:

> to develop community participation processes to ensure the widest possible level of public participation in decision-making ... the democratisation and therefore the decentralisation of economic decision making to the workplace and the community, coupled with the necessary public controls over resources, finance and enterprises to ensure environmental integrity, social justice and national self-determination.[91]

The significance of this charter for the political green movement was that it formed a gate-keeping role in two respects. Firstly, the charter played a gate-keeping role with regard to membership. Membership was invited on the basis of basic agreement with these principles and the Constitution. The membership application form required written acknowledgment of this agreement, subject to Constitutional means for amending it as a membership right.[92] The second gate-keeping role was with regard to policy formation. Policy adopted by the Queensland Greens had to conform with these principles. Thus the social and ecological agenda of the political green movement had been implicitly enshrined in current and future policies of the Queensland Greens.

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[89] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Author's collection. Principles 2.3 and 2.4 respectively.

[90] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Author's collection. Principles 2.6 and 2.7 respectively.

[91] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Author's collection. Principles 2.5 and 2.16 respectively.

[92] Noted on Queensland Greens membership application forms, also included on the back page of *Greenline*. Author's collection.

The second aspect of the Queensland Greens which reflected the praxis of the environmental project for the political greens was in respect to self-activity. Self-activity, in this instance, refers to the self-activity of the participants in the party, and to support for popular struggles given by the party. Opportunities for the self-activity of participants in the Queensland Greens was secured through several features of the constitution. The party structure was designed to facilitate state and national coordination in conjunction with a branch structure which allowed for maximum participation by members. The branches were allowed autonomy on a number of key issues:

> Local, Regional groups will have the autonomy to make decisions relating to their own affairs provided that: these decisions are consistent with the principles, objectives of the Greens ... they remain within the Greens policy framework ... that they take into account national and state campaigns priorities and election strategies.[93]

Thus decentralisation remained a key priority, the necessity for some measure of coordination notwithstanding.

Members in local branches accordingly were permitted, via the Constitution, to participate in decision-making in the branches. The State Council comprised delegates chosen by, and solely recallable by, the local branches, as well as the office-bearers of the state level of the organisation.[94] The aim was to ensure that state office-holders did not usurp power from the branches. Another area of autonomy of branches was the endorsements of candidates, subject to a (difficult to attain) veto option by the State Council. Preferences for Lower House was also province of local groups, while for the Senate, the state organisation as a whole was responsible for this choice.[95] Regarding the policy formation process, local policies were the concern of the local group, within the framework of the Principles and Means of the constitution. Policy with wider application underwent a democratic process geared to ensure all members had the opportunity to be involved in formulation and

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[93] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Author's collection. 13. Local Autonomy.

[94] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. 13. Local Autonomy.

[95] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Author's collection. 27. Candidates and Representatives.

ratification. There was also a clause for initiation of review of a policy.[96] While these features of the constitution remained an ideal, not always fully expressed in all instances, they nonetheless reflected the value given to self-activity in the Queensland Greens. Self-activity of the membership was also encouraged through the decision-making processes outlined in the Constitution. Consensus-based decision making practice were encouraged:

> Decisions at meetings will be made by cooperative decision-making processes, which includes the options of consensus and various forms of voting. A serious attempt at all times will be made towards achieving consensus. Sufficient time will be allowed for discussion of different views, including provision for non-decision-making meetings.[97]

This method represented an attempt to avoid the competition and potential divisiveness that results from majority rule outcomes of voting. Moreover the aim was to engage in a decision-making process which was inclusive of all members as an expression of self-activity, in addition to the instrumental goal of the decision making process. There was also a conflict resolution clause in the Constitution, to aid in the resolution of conflicts within branches:

> Where conflict emerges in any local branch it will be the responsibility of that group to initiate conflict resolution procedures. If this fails to resolve the conflict it may be necessary to bring the issue to the attention of the State Council.[98]

One aim was to deal with conflicts constructively. Another aim was an egalitarian one, to take seriously the concerns of all the members.

Self-activity also referred to support for the self-activity of others, through supporting popular struggles. This intention was evident in the Means section of the charter. The first section referred to the proposed role of the Greens in seeking "the election or appointment to public office of people who are committed to the Greens' principles, policies and objectives".[99] However, this role was seen as an inherently limited objective:

> Our view of social change involves more than merely the substitution of one lot of decision-makers with another lot who will act more responsibly. We aim for changes

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[96] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Author's collection. 29. Formulation and Adoption of Policy.

[97] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Author's collection. 26.1 Decision-Making.

[98] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Author's collection. 26.6 Decision-Making.

[99] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Author's collection. Means 3.1.

> that will empower all people and allow them to act in greater harmony with each other and the rest of nature. Therefore, while contesting elections is an important aim of our strategy it is by no means the only one.[100]

The other strategy for "empowering all people" concerned support for popular struggles:

> We will also be involved in grassroots campaigns which are essential if destructive and undemocratic values in the community are going to be seriously challenged by our movement. These campaigns shall include ... resistance to oppressive and destructive practices using nonviolent direct means ... promote research and education of ourselves and the community which allows us and others to analyse more vigorously, act more effectively and envision the future with more compassion and understanding ... [and] ... cooperation with like minded green organisations both in Australia and overseas so that their complementary efforts for human rights and environmental protection are seen as part of a multi-faceted and global project.[101]

In practice, the local branches fostered connections with community groups in their regions - many were already members. Two branches which directed their preferences away from Labor in the 1995 Queensland state elections were responding to the public outcry against the proposed tollway by the Queensland Labor Government.[102] The media attention attracted by this campaign provided a public platform for the Queensland Greens spokesperson, Drew Hutton, to make claims about the "arrogance" of the (Goss) Government in failing to listen to the community.[103]

A third aspect of the Queensland Greens which reflected the praxis of the environmental project for the political greens was its role in challenging the two-party system in the

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[100] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Author's collection. Means 3.3.

[101] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Means 3.3.

[102] The tollway was an important issue for the Queensland Greens. According to the spokesperson for the Greens 1995 state election campaign, the proposed tollway strategy reinforced problems with the region's quality of life, in terms of wildlife issues and urban sprawl - *Circle*. [Brisbane women's periodical] July. 1995. pp.9,13. The state government intended to proceed with the tollway proposal in spite of massive public outcry. A theme of the Greens 1995 campaign was to expose the nature of the Goss administration, as "arrogant, unaccountable, [and] anti-democratic" - "Campaign message". *Queensland Greens Campaign Bulletin. State Election 1995 for Greens Party Members*. Author's collection. 1995. p.2. Preferences in the two seats most affected by the tollway proposal were directed away from the Labor Party - "The Greens." [how-to-vote-card for the Queensland Greens 1995 state election campaign: details preferences for all the Greens candidates] Author's collection. 1995.

[103] One of the campaign themes for the Queensland Greens in the 1995 election was to describe the style of the Goss Government, as "arrogant, unaccountable, anti-democratic, autocratic, anti-environment, intolerant, and socially conservative." - "Campaign message". *Queensland Greens Campaign Bulletin. State Election 1995 for Greens Party Members*. Author's collection. 1995. p.2.

interests of a more participatory form of democracy. Problems with the two party system had been constantly raised by the political green movement, through the Brisbane Green party, the Rainbow Alliance, and finally, the Queensland Greens. The major parties were viewed as having little to distinguish them from each other, with similarly flawed views of the problems facing contemporary society. This not only limited the choice for voters, it provided little incentive for the major parties to do much more than compete with each other for votes. Thus many of the concerns of the contemporary movements and community groups were left unaddressed by the public agenda.[104] For instance, as indicated in Chapter Five, the Brisbane Green Party criticised the two-party system, and supported the Citizens for Democracy Campaign which began in late 1985.[105] The Rainbow Alliance was also critical of the electoral system as a means of achieving radical social change, although does not completely eschew electoral strategies. This perspective was raised in the Charter, and again raised in the policy, Political Strategies of the Rainbow Alliance.[106]

In terms of challenging the problems of the two-party system, the Queensland Greens intended to raise issues and views otherwise blocked from the public agenda, and thus widen the scope of public debate. Standing candidates was thus not solely concerned with winning seats. Another aim of standing candidates was to influence the issues debated at election time, particularly the policies of the major parties. This aim was reflected in the Constitution, which stated that "electoral strategies and direction of voting preferences [will be used] to encourage other political parties to adopt our objectives".[107] It was also intended to make electoral activism more accessible for members of the community, in several ways. One was to provide a party that was more hospitable to interested people, through opportunities for involvement in policy and strategy decisions. Accessibility also referred to enhanced

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[104] This perspective was expressed mainly through the efforts to form an alternative to the major parties. This intention characterised debates within the Brisbane Green Party and the later Rainbow Alliance about direction and purpose, particularly when the green political movement initiated green electoral campaigns - see Chapters Five: West German Greens and Mass Movement Building, and Seven: Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland and Alignments, respectively.

[105] See Chapter Five: The Demise of the Green Party.

[106] Rainbow Alliance. "The Charter of the Rainbow Alliance". 1986/87. and Rainbow Alliance. "Political Strategies of the Rainbow Alliance". Author's collection. [c.1989].

[107] Queensland Greens. *Constitution (Queensland) November 1991*. Author's collection. Means 3.2.

opportunities for individuals to stand as pre-select or stand as candidates.

On these bases, for the political green movement, the Queensland Greens was an expression of the praxis of the environmental project. It was the most successful expression thus far, improving upon the gains made by the group of activists who formed the Brisbane green Party in 1984. In comparison with the Brisbane Green Party, the Queensland Greens had a much larger membership throughout Queensland. Its participation in a federation of Greens parties contributed to the increased density of networks across the green movement on a regional and national scale. However the extent to which the political green movement succeeded in achieving innovation is a separate issue, which is addressed below.

**institutional transformation and engagement**

In terms of engagement issues, gauging the success of the political green movement in promoting their environmental project through the Queensland Greens is problematic. In terms of participatory democracy, the Queensland Greens offered a more accessible electoral organisation, in that branches did have a large measure of autonomy and many members participated in the policy formation process. However, this grassroots approach to party organisation was made possible by the comparatively low membership as viewed against the major parties, and with only a few councillors and parliamentarians in office. In the event of improved electoral fortunes or a much stronger membership base, the self-activity fostered through decentralisation and consensus decision-making could become eroded.

In terms of credibility, the Queensland Greens had a much more credible image than earlier vehicles of the political green movement. The Greens, registered with the Australian Electoral Commission, were recognised as an enduring minor party. To some extent their credible image was derived from the electoral successes by the Western Australian Greens in the Federal Senate and various green parliamentarians and councillors in state and local governments respectively. The credible image was also enhanced by the recognition that they many people would vote green if the opportunities were provided. For instance, token green

candidates attracted similar levels of votes as the more serious contenders.[108] As indicated in earlier chapters, votes for green candidates had not as yet been sufficiently high to suggest they might ever be able to win government. However, they were substantial enough to influence election outcomes and the operation of Parliament.[109] The 1995 Queensland state elections saw a range of factors influence the extremely close election outcome, one of them being green preferences to the Liberals and Nationals in several instances.[110] For a movement promoting a radical social and environmental agenda, this credibility had been long sought. Much more media attention had been directed at this particular green electoral initiative of the political green movement than ever before.

However, in spite of the success in establishing the Charter for the Greens, there was no guarantee for the political green movement that their environmental project would be successfully articulated. In election campaigns in general, the media is more likely to focus upon the exciting elements of the campaigns, such as number crunching, seat winning, and gaining photo opportunities of leaders of major parties, than on policy issues crucial to the Greens.[111] The difference between accommodation and innovation in this instance, is the

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[108] For instance, for the 1995 state elections, there was no correlation between primary votes and the amount of effort put into campaigns, even though some campaigns were token and others more serious attempts to win seats. Token campaigns refer to those aimed at standing candidates to attract protest votes and indicate support for green issues - Malcolm Lewis. "Tally Board". [table of candidate, seat, expenses incurred, degree of effort put into the campaign, and primary vote attained] Author's collection. 1995.

[109] For a discussion about the impact of the two Green Senators on Parliament, see Wallace Brown. "Greens are not to be sniffed at". *Sunday Mail*. 22 August. 1993. p.56. In 1993, Souter considered the potential federal electoral fortunes for the Australian Greens in the forthcoming federal elections - Fenella Souter. "The new keen Green machine". *The Bulletin*. 9 March. 1993. pp.18-19. Emerson points out that some of Labor's marginal seats were dependent upon preferences from independents and small parties such as the Greens - Scott Emerson. "Goss hard-pressed to revive green credentials". *The Australian*. 20 November. 1994. p.19. Bob Brown from the Tasmanian Greens claimed that the green votes were instrumental in 12 marginal electorates in the 1993 federal elections - Bob Brown. "The voters remember green issues". *Greenline*. Author's collection. April. no.8. 1993. p.1.

[110] The Wilderness Society, for instance, claimed that the Queensland Greens 'lost' five Labor seats in the 1995 state elections, while the pro-Labor preference strategy of the Wilderness Society, Australian Conservation Foundation, Australian Rainforest Conservation Society, and Cape York Land Council 'saved' 3-5 labor seats - Young. "A vote for the environment". 1995. pp.18-20.

[111] According to Stewart and Ward, the emergence of television as a visual means of mass communication had an impact upon campaigning strategies. Campaigns strategies often aimed to provide 'photo opportunities' which would fit into the short time frame of news reports. Party leaders emerged as the main focus of attention. On the other hand, print mediums were often highly routinised, and relied upon specific steady sources for information such as press releases provided by government officials - See Randal G. Stewart and Ian Ward. *Politics One*. Macmillan. South Melbourne. 1992.

extent to which the radical agenda could be privileged over the more conventional aspects of the campaigning. The coverage of the 1995 Queensland election campaign was characterised primarily by an obsessive focus on party leaders, in this instance, specifically the National and Labor parties. The minor degree of coverage given to the Greens candidates and spokespersons were largely directed towards Drew Hutton. Moreover, this focus on leadership obscured the possibility for in-depth discussion about policy.[112] This emphasis on parties and leadership to some extent reinforces conventional notions of parties and power politics in the party system. This is at odds with the aims of the Greens, and establishes their image as yet another conventional political party.

As stated above, the hopes of the political green movement that the Queensland greens would contribute to the consolidation of the green movement as well as support popular struggles, had to some extent been realised. By 1995 there was a large number of people and groups seemingly publicly committed to the charter of the Queensland Greens. However the commitment by these actors to the environmental project of the political green movement was open to question. For example, the conservation movement had only an indirect use for the green electoral wing. Their environmental project was dependent upon a different type of institutional change. The alternative community movement had no commitment to the Queensland Greens beyond some alignments on their own terms. The support by community groups might well have been on the basis of opportunism rather than commitment to the charter. Thus, while the alignments generated by the campaigning of the Queensland greens provided opportunities for negotiation of meanings and a collective promotion of the 'just, humane, and ecological society,' in future this potential might be undermined by the intentions of others with which it engaged.

For the reasons stated above, the functional role of the Greens did not necessarily accord with the perceptions of the political green movement. The praxis of the Queensland Greens implied for them what this thesis refers to as innovation. However it could also be considered accommodation, through the toleration of a party which could win some votes but not

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[112] This observation was made by a Griffith University political analyst, Dr. Elizabeth van Acker, in a discussion with the researcher on 18 November, 1995. She is currently engaged in a research project with Dr. Ian Ward, entitled, "T.v. as a commercial rather than a political medium" which focuses upon the media coverage of the 1995 Queensland elections.

government, as in the case of the Australian Democrats. The activities of the Queensland Greens might also be interpreted as containment. For instance, intentionally or otherwise, the green electoral strategies had ultimately favoured the Labor Party interests, through the preferences strategy privileging Labor: disgruntled Labor voters could put green candidates first and Labor second, to register a protest vote against Labor without reducing its chances of electoral success. In terms of containment, the legal requirements of the state and federal acts, might also contribute to a more bureaucratised party organisation which undermined the self-activity of members in the Queensland Greens.

The campaign strategy of the Queensland Greens in the 1995 Queensland state elections indicates that containment and accommodation, in some grounds at least, were resisted. For instance, the allocation of preferences away from the Labor Party was unprecedented in the history of the green movement in Australia. This strategy was preceded by discussions between representatives of the Queensland Greens and Queensland National Party about environmental (and other) policy.[113] One aim for the greens was to encourage the traditionally anti-environmental National Party to adopt genuine environmental credentials. According to the spokesperson for the Queensland Greens, Drew Hutton:

> If we cannot genuinely persuade Labor to pursue genuinely reformist policies .. then the next best thing to do is to persuade the Coalition to move into the middle ground on all policies and to have better environmental policies than Labor.[114]

The improvement in National Party environmental policy was noted by the conservation movement.[115] A more significant aim, however, was to alter the nature of environmental debate so that both parties improved their environmental performance. In the two-party system, Labor could maintain electoral support needed to maintain government by simply being even marginally better than the opposition - in the case of Queensland, the National Party. Showing preparedness to risk losing a Labor Government was intended as an incentive for the Labor Party to improve their policies in relation to demands from the community

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[113] Drew Hutton from the Queensland Greens engaged in discussions with Doug Slack from the National Party, with the aim of improving the environmental policy of the Nationals - see "A conservative alliance, but it leaves Labor looking green." *Sunday Mail*. 19 February. 1995. p.67, and Scott Emerson. "Greens leader plays dangerous political game". *The Australian*. 1 March. 1995. p.15.

[114] Madonna King. "Queensland Greens to dump Goss". *The Australian*. 3 August. 1994. p.4.

[115] "State groups seek greener government." *Eco Sphere. Special Election Issue*. July. 1995. pp.1,4.

rather than in comparison with the other major parties. The spokesperson for the Greens, well before the 1995 state election campaign, stated:

> We are sick of Labor Governments telling us that as they are marginally better than the Coalition, then they have got to get the green vote.[116]

For the political green movement, engagement was certainly enhanced on some grounds, as discussed above. However the potential for accommodation and containment was high. Green parties in other countries have foundered on the tensions over interpretations of the nature of the engagement, and there the same tensions were likely to surface in the Queensland Greens.[117] Meanwhile the political green movement had become submerged in the Queensland greens and other activities.[118] Should the Queensland Greens unequivocally move to containment or accommodation forms of engagement, this might signal the end of this environmental project, or promote its renewal through another vehicle at a later date.

## CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This chapter has shown that in all instances the three parts of the green movement enhanced their capacity to engage with the system over the environmental projects. It has also pointed out that engagement had some characteristics of innovation, and also containment and accommodation.

The alternative community movement had shifted its priorities to establishing legally registered co-operatives as the dominant expression of the rustic ideal. The various kinds of co-operatives - community, worker, and producer - and the organisations that support them aimed to reconcile the social and ecological dimensions of the rustic ideal with the pragmatic

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[116] "Green threat to back Liberals over woodchips". *The Australian*. 4 January. 1995. p.1.

[117] Rochon, for instance, draws attention to tensions in the West German Greens. Often there were conflicts between direct democracy within the party and the types of strategy necessary for electoral success and the ability to influence public policy - see Thomas R. Rochon. *Mobilising for Peace*. Princetown University Press. Princetown New Jersey. 1988. pp.83-85.

[118] The person central to the ethos group of the political green movement, Drew Hutton, had responsibilities as the Queensland Greens spokesperson. His role was to represent the party as a whole, and to form alignments between Queensland Greens and others. Therefore he could not unproblematically pursue the aims of the political green movement at the expense of the interest and aims of the Queensland Greens as a whole.

problems of the expression of the this ideal in contemporary society. On this basis the alternative community movement contributed to innovation, and has experienced some level of accommodation.

The conservation movement had participated in new policy instruments dominated by the legitimacy and accumulation agenda of the state, in an effort to reconcile development and economic decision-making with the intrinsic worth of nature. Innovative policies and practices had been generated by the conservation movement, such as alignments with previous foes - unions and the business sector. They risked containment and accommodation in terms of which environmental agenda would prevail.

The political green movement participated in the formation of the organised political wing of the green movement throughout Australia, and worked successfully towards the establishment of the Queensland and Australian Greens. These parties constituted the praxis of the environmental project in terms of the role of the Greens in transforming the conventional political system to one based on the self-activity of the community. However the political green movement risked accommodation and containment, due to the vagaries of the party system, and the divergent interests of some who have joined or formed alignments with the Greens.

The green movement in the 1990s could no longer be as easily dismissed it was previously. The environmental projects had found some credibility with a wide and diverse social base. In spite of the risks of containment and accommodation which engagement brought with it, innovation was still a possibility and is the measure of the success of the movement.

# Chapter Nine

# CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to explain the significance of the preoccupation with sustainability by the green movement in southeast Queensland. It used a movement-centred approach, with the aim of overcoming the limitations of pressure group theory for theorising movements. The movement-centred approach conceptualised the green movement as an actor acting within a specific historical context. This concluding chapter outlines the findings of the thesis. It addresses each chapter and the role it played in this thesis. The final section explains how this thesis has addressed the research concern of this thesis.

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The three chapters in Part B identified the presence of three environmental projects formed by the green movement in southeast Queensland, with respect to the conservation, alternative community, and political green movements. These chapters showed that characteristics of the environmental projects were determined by distinctive problem definitions of the relationship between social and environmental outcomes by each of these movements. These chapters also showed that the three environmental projects were based upon qualitatively different problem definitions, and subsequently resulted in qualitatively different environmental projects.

The formation of the environmental project by the conservation movement was addressed in Chapter Three. This chapter showed that the conservation movement construed the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes as a conflict between development and the preservation of the natural environment, initially in reaction to the development boom of the 1960s. The environment was attributed an intrinsic value against the use-value embodied in the institutions associated with economic development. The chapter established that the adversarial scenario of conservation versus development was reinforced by the political and institutional context in which the conservation movement acted. It showed that the political economy of Queensland, the environmental policy framework, and the

policy directions of the then government reinforced this adversarial scenario. With the aim of preserving specific natural regions from the 'encroachments' of development, the conservation movement engaged in conventional political practices. National, state, and regional organisations were formed to lobby and otherwise influence the development strategies of all three levels of government.

Eliminating the adversarial scenario caused by the limited institutional framework was seen by the conservation movement as the key to achieving their nature preservation aims. To this end, from the early 1980s, the conservation movement advocated institutional change to increase the capacity for the reconciliation of development and environmental concerns. They proposed institutional reforms aimed at addressing current and future conflicts through the implementation of conflict resolutions practices and other changes associated with the environmental policy and legal framework. They also proposed a means for minimising future conflicts, through the establishment of planning forums which enhanced coordination between government agencies, long-term planning and involvement by the community. This reform package constituted the environmental project of the conservation movement, for ecologically sustainable development.

Chapter Four addressed the alternative community movement and the formation of the sustainable lifestyles project. Their project was one expression of the humanist critique of industrial society which emerged from the social upheaval in the 1960s and 1970s throughout Australia. This chapter showed that the problematic relationship between environmental and social outcomes was posed by this movement as a problem intrinsic to the cultural and institutional basis of 'industrial' society. Alienation was seen as the core problem, referring to relationships between humans, and between humanity and nature. The experience of alienation was considered the prime factor behind the plethora of social and environmental problems raised by the radical movements in the late 1960s and 1970s. Thus the problem definition of the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes was seen as the unreformable institutional and cultural bases of contemporary industrial society.

The chapter showed that the solution posed to this problem was to establish a new society based on alternative institutions which did not reproduce the social and environmental

problems of contemporary industrial society. This chapter demonstrated that the praxis of a (mythic) rustic ideal framed this endeavour for personal and community power, and care for the environment. In contrast to the conservation movement which sought institutional reform, the alternative community movement sought separation from 'the system' through building 'alternative' institutions. Sustainable lifestyles thus embodied the environmental project of this movement, in which a new society would emerge outside the existing order, based on the social and environmental objectives of the rustic ideal.

The political green movement was formed at a later time than the conservation and alternative community movements, although its genesis also lay in the social dissent of the late 1960s and 1970s. Chapter Five demonstrates that the political green movement emerged in the early 1980s from the political tendency of the radical political movements. It also showed that the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes posed by this movement was substantially shaped its origins in the radical political movement. Like the alternative community movement, the radical political movement was concerned about alienation in contemporary industrialised society, and aimed to achieve a 'just and humane' society which eliminated the experience of alienation through fostering self-activity. In contrast to the alternative community movement which sought to create a separate society, the political tendency endeavoured to transform society through the praxis of self-activity. Self-activity was expressed through modes of organisation, forms of action, support for popular struggles, and the endeavour to build a mass movement to support these endeavours. The aim was create a 'just, humane' society through the transformation of current social practices and institutions, in particular the political institutions.

The chapter showed that the political green movement surfaced as the Brisbane Green party in 1984, with the aim of working towards a 'just, human' society. It also showed that this aim was expressed largely in terms of identification with the growing green movement in Australia and internationally. To some extent this identification resulted from the strategy crisis of the radical political movement in the early 1980s, and subsequent endeavour to crystallise a new mass movement around the increasingly popular green symbol. However it also reflected a growing ecological awareness in the radical political movements about prevailing environmental problems. The environmental project of the political green

movement was thus to achieve a 'just, humane, and ecological society' through institutional transformation. This chapter also showed that the endeavour to construct such a society through building a mass movement was realised in a specific social context of urban dissent. The appropriation of urban issues in the interest of supporting residents struggles contributed to the formation of the sustainable communities project. This represented an expression of the environmental project of the political green movement.

These chapters in Part B demonstrated that a significant element common to these movements, apart from a concern about environmental issues, was the difficulties they experienced in realising their otherwise qualitatively different projects. The conservation movement throughout the 1980s was blocked by an unsympathetic Queensland National Government. Implementation of the proposed institutional reforms was dependent upon the instatement of a new government which was more sympathetic to their proposals. Thus electoral campaigns to change the government were part of their strategy to realise the environmental project. However changing the government was rendered very difficult by the gerrymandered electoral system which favoured the interest of the current Government.

For the alternative community movement, participants had difficulties in achieving the praxis of the rustic ideal, and in particular the sought separation from industrial society. The alternative institutions of the movement were constantly confronted with a regulatory, financial and legal issues. Pragmatic considerations to improve the chances of movement survival resulted in compromises about the separation from the system. However, the application for support from various commercial and government agencies was often unsuccessful, and whose policies hampered the objectives of the movement. The political green movement had a different set of concerns, linked to the inability to gain support from the popular struggles they endeavoured to appropriate. The residents movement was, on the whole, far more interested in government reforms which would seemingly facilitate community involvement in urban policy, than in the Brisbane Green Party. Thus the political green movement remained without a basis in popular struggle.

Given these findings, Part C examined the means used by the green movement to enhance their prospects of realising their environmental projects in a rapidly changing social and

political context. The changed context referred primarily to the introduction of government reforms at local and state levels as well as the policies of the federal, state, and local governments. It also included the activity by parts of the green movement in relation to these factors, and subsequent endeavours to work cooperatively as a cohesive movement. Chapter Six examined the repercussions for green movement consolidation in southeast Queensland in relation to the government-initiated reform processes, beginning from the mid-1980s in Brisbane and state-wide from 1989. Institutional change by governments was of particular interest to the political green and conservation movements, alth·ugh for different reasons, thus this chapter focused only upon these two parts of the green movement.

This chapter showed that the reform process did little to advance the prospects of the political green or conservation movements for the implementation of their respective environmental projects. The political green movement did not manage to form more than minimal alignments with the residents movement, in spite of attempts to support local campaigns and running an election campaign on urban issues for the 1988 local government elections. The disappointment of the residents movement with the reform process initiated by the Atkinson Liberal Brisbane City Council administration did not foster alignments with the greens movement. Instead it served to reinforce the commitment to conventional political strategies, such as supporting a Labor victory for the Queensland Government elections in 1989. Meanwhile, the conservation movement had contributed to the change of government in Queensland which saw the Labor Party, long claiming to be sympathetic to the objectives of the conservation movement, win Government. However, the reform agenda of the Queensland Labor Government proved to be at cross purposes with the reform agenda of the conservation movement, thus the conservation movement was again left out in the cold.

Chapter Seven showed how the failures of the conservation and political green movements' environmental projects to flourish in this altered political and institutional context contributed, by 1990, to a tentative basis for cooperation within the broader green movement in southeast Queensland. It also showed that the strategies to deal with persisting political marginalisation were also intrinsically linked with the national context of social unrest. This unrest reflected the intensification of social conflict under the neocorporatist reforms process of the Federal Labor Government since 1983. This chapter demonstrated the grounds for alignment between

the conservation and political green movement, and a range of other actors, with special attention to the national context. This national context played a substantial role in accounting for the extent and character of green movement consolidation in southeast Queensland.

The chapter showed that the preoccupation with a green electoral vehicle ultimately provided the main grounds for consolidation. What was achieved was a national political party comprised of a confederation of state-based parties. The outcomes of debate about the character of the proposed national green electoral organisation contributed to the exclusion of potential participants, especially those involved in existing political parties, and also the alternative community movement. Nonetheless this development contributed to increased density within the green movement, throughout the state and nationally.

Chapter Eight, which comprises Part D, considered the extent to which engagement by the three green movements with the system was enhanced by this consolidation process. It showed that the differentiation between the three green movements persisted, signalled by their differing relationships with the electoral initiative. Thus, this chapter addressed the repercussions for the realisation of their environmental projects both within and outside of, the green electoral initiative.

The chapter showed that participation in the new policy processes by the conservation movement ran the risk of containment and accommodation in terms of which environmental agenda would prevail. On the other hand, the electoral strategy gave some kind of leverage to the green movement to improve their bargaining position with the government. Moreover their alignments with those who were previously considered opponents also contributed to a different frame of reference for the activities of the conservation movement. In both instances, prospects for innovation proved possible in spite of the risks of containment. Chapter Eight also showed that the alternative community movement had gained some support from the system for their environmental projects, by couching their specific objectives in terms which could be accommodated by the various agencies. For instance, legally registered co-operatives emerged as the dominant expression of the rustic ideal. On this basis the alternative community movement has contributed to innovation, although at the rusk of accommodation. The Chapter showed that, for the green political movement, the

green electoral vehicle became the prevailing strategy for realising their environmental project. This organisation achieved the long sought national scope as well as the imposition of a definition of green upon this initiative in line with their own movement aspirations. However, as the chapter showed, the green political movement ran the risk of accommodation through becoming more like a conventional political party, and thus eventually losing the platform for articulating its radical preoccupations.

## THE GREEN MOVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST QUEENSLAND

The green movement has been shown to have had an active role in influencing qualitatively different kinds of social change, with regard to dealing with the problematic relationship between social and environmental outcomes. This role was variously expressed through strategies for institutional reform, institutional transformation, and alternative institutions, with reference to the conservation, political green, and alternative community movements respectively. In each instance, the potential for innovation has been shown to be present, albeit tentative and at risk of containment and accommodation. Moreover, the role of the green movement in this thesis has been linked to national and international developments which signal the relevance of environmental conflict in southeast Queensland to broader issues nationally and internationally. This supports a central proposition of this thesis that movements have indirect, but potentially significant, roles to play in social change.

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# MOVEMENT PERIODICALS

note: Some of these periodicals were intermittently unpaged, and at times short passages were untitled and/or had no credited author.

*Australian Conservation Foundation Newsletter* [newsletter of the Australian Conservation Foundation, name changed to *Conservation News* in 1989]

*AGWG Update* [newsletter of the Brisbane-based Australian Greens Working Group: issued through 1991-92] Author's collection.

*City Farm Newsletter* [newsletter of the Brisbane-based City Farm project, issued from the mid-1980s] Author's collection.

*Conservation News* [newsletter of the Australian Conservation Foundation, named changed from *Australian Conservation Foundation Newsletter* in 1989]

*Cooperative Times: Co-operative Self Development for Australia,* [national newsletter produced by participants in the alternative community movement between 1983 and 1985 to promote co-operatives] Author's collection.

*Dancing with Wolves. Information Bulletin on the Ecologically Sustainable Development Process* [newsletter of the Australian Conservation Foundation and World Wide Fund for Nature Australia, for comment and debate about the Federal Government's ESD Process in 1990]

*Down to Earth* [newsletter produced by participants of the alternative community movement, to serve the movement in northern New South Wales and southeast Queensland] Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland.

*Earth Garden* [national commercial periodical that also serves participants in the alternative community movement]

*Eco Echo. The Green Voice of the Sunshine Coast* [newsletter of the Sunshine Coast Environment Council]

*Ecosphere* [newsletter of the Queensland Conservation Council, name changed from *Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter* in 1992]

*Getting Together Newsletter* [newsletter produced to facilitate the organisation of the 1986 Getting Together Conference in Sydney, issued from late 1985 to early 1987] Author's collection.

*Good Foods Co-Op Newsletter* [newsletter of the Brisbane-based Good Foods Co-operative, issued from the early 1980s] Author's collection.

*Grass Roots* [a national commercial magazine that also serves participants in the alternative community movement]

*Greenline* [newsletter of the Queensland Greens in 1991-92, and also newsletter of the Australian Greens from late 1992] Author's collection.

*Green Pieces.* [newsletter of the Brisbane Green Party, issued 1984-86] Author's collection.

*Greens Policy and Networking Forum.* [Electronic mail conference. Opened 3 September 1989. Subscribers only. http://peg.pegasus.oz.au. Availability negotiable through the Queensland Greens. http://www.peg.apc/~qldgreens/welcome.html]

*LETS Newsletter* [newsletter of the Local Employment and Trading Scheme in southeast Queensland, issued from late 1980s] Author's collection.

*Liane* [newsletter of the Rainforest Conservation Society of Queensland, since 1983]

*Maleny Cooperatives* [newsletter of the alternative community movement in Queensland Sunshine Coast and hinterland, issued since 1990] Author's collection.

*Mutual Aid* [newsletter of the Brisbane-based Catholic Worker, issued in the early and mid-1980s] Author's collection.

*Neighbourhood News* [newsletter produced by a libertarian collective in West End for distribution to local residents from the mid-1980s] Author's collection.

*Neighbourhood Workers Co-op Newsletter* [newsletter of Brisbane-based work cooperatives in Red/Hill Paddington, issued in the early 1980s] Author's collection.

*New Left Party National Bulletin* [newsletter of the Charter Process which eventually launched the New Left Party in 1989]

*News from Home* [newsletter of Australian Association of Sustainable Communities, issued since the early 1980s] Author's collection.

*Permaculture Nambour* [newsletter of Permaculture Nambour]

*QCC/WPSQ News* [temporarily integrated newsletters of Queensland Conservation Council and Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland, in late 1990]

*Queensland Conservation Council Newsletter* [newsletter of the Queensland Conservation Council, renamed *Ecosphere* in 1992]

*Queensland Green Network Newsletter* [newsletter of the Queensland Green Network, issued 1990-1991] Author's collection.

*Rainbow Alliance Southeast Queensland Newsletter* [newsletter of the Brisbane branch of the

Rainbow Alliance, issued 1987-93] Author's collection.

*Sunshine News* [newsletter of the alternative community movement in Queensland Sunshine Coast and hinterland, issued in the early and mid-1980s] Held at Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland.

*Urban Coalition Newsletter* [newsletter of the Urban Coalition, issued since 1989] Author's collection.

*War Resisters League Newsletter* [newsletter of the War Resisters League, issued 1991-93. Brisbane] Author's collection